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2 September 1982

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SOVIET PAPERS MARK ANNIVERSARY OF WWII KOREAN LIBERATION

#### 'PRAVDA' Article

PM171519 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 August 1982 carries on page 4, under the headline "Obelisk on Moran Bong," a 1,500-word dispatch from Pyongyang by own correspondent V. Razuvayev keyed to the anniversary of Korea's liberation from the Japanese in 1945. Razuvayev opens with a description of the monument on Moran Bong Hill commemorating the liberation, which he calls "a symbol of Korean-Soviet friendship," and moves on to an account of the DPRK's economic achievements. "These achievements are the result of persistent, strenuous efforts by Korean workers and peasants led by the Korean Workers Party. They are also the direct result of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries," Razuvayev declares. He quotes figures for the output of DPRK enterprises constructed with Soviet aid and surveys the industrial and agricultural tasks facing North Korea.

#### 'IZVESTIYA' Article

PM171521 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 August 1982 publishes on page 5 a 1,700-word Pyongyang dispatch by special correspondents Ye. Popov and V. Stepanenko under the rubric "15 August -- The 37th Anniversary of Korea's Liberation," headed "The View from Moran Bong Hill." The article describes the scene at the Moran Bong liberation monument and goes on to discuss the events of 1945 when "the Soviet army routed the mightiest groupings of militarist Japan's armed forces -- the Kwantung Army -- and liberated the Korean people from the Japanese colonial yoke." Quoting from contemporary Soviet newspapers' descriptions of the liberation, the correspondents go on to outline some developments in the DPRK's industry and agriculture today, noting that "we were gratified to find that our Korean friends use the Soviet Union's experience in this creative work." The article states: "The Korean people, Chong Chun-ki, candidate member of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the DPRK Administration Council, said in a meeting with the IZVESTIYA delegation, value the traditional fraternal friendship with the Soviet people -- friendship born in the joint struggle against imperialism and for socialism and communism. The relations of friendship and cooperation which have grown up between our countries and peoples develop and become more fruitful every day." The correspondents conclude by describing another visit to Moran Bong. No further processing planned.

'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA' Comment

PM180957 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 August 1982 publishes on page 3 a 1,300-word article by Retired Maj Gen N. Lebedev, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society, under the leading "In the Fighting for Korea's Liberation." The article is mainly devoted to an account of the Soviet Army's role in the liberation of Korea, in which the author himself took part. No further processing planned.

CSO: 1807/146

## INTERNATIONAL

### SOVIET SCHOLARS PESSIMISTIC ON FAMILY PLANNING EFFORTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) pp 212-215

[Report by Ya. Guzevatyy, doctor of economic sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies: "World Demographic Trends"]

[Excerpts] The 19th General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population\* took place 9-16 December 1981 in Manila.

Some 743 specialists from 98 countries including Hungary, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia participated in the conference. The scientific program included 2 plenary sessions, 30 "formal" sessions, 12 "informal" sessions and 2 "special" sessions.

Ya. Guzevatyy (USSR) presented a report at the conference entitled "Marxist Teaching On Population in the Light of the Present Demographic Situation in the Developing Countries." Having spoken against the excessively optimistic assessments of success in governmental "family planning programs," and the conclusions drawn on the basis of these assessments on prospects for the development of world demographic processes, the rapporteur showed that the emergence of realistic conditions for accelerating the demographic switch from the traditional, preindustrial type of population growth with a high birth rate to the present type with a low birth rate is possible only under conditions of a radical transformation of the backward social structure of the developing countries. The constituent essence of this kind of switch and the establishment of a new type of family other than that in the traditional agrarian society, with economic and demographic functions, and therefore also reoriented on few children, can be accomplished only on the basis of the development of a major industry and the realization of a cultural revolution.

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\* The International Union for the Scientific Study of Population is a nongovernment organization uniting on the basis of individual membership about 1,500 members from 100 countries (the Soviet Union is represented by five scientists). The union has as its aim cooperation in the development of demographic science, strengthening scientific links between specialists engaged in demographic questions, and stimulating interest in these matters from governments, international organizations, scientific establishments and the public. The headquarters of the union is located in Lieges.

The trend observed now in a number of the developing countries to a drop in the birth rate indexes reflects the process of demographic transformation only insofar as it affects a narrow sector of the present economy. As far as the broad traditional sector is concerned, technical progress has touched it little or not at all where other factors operate, namely intensifying dispossession of land among the peasantry under the effect of rapid demographic growth, and mass poverty and unemployment, particularly in hidden form. Without altering the family ideals of having many children, these factors are prompting parents left without the means of existence to refrain temporarily from having children, and inducing young people to marry when older, and married men to leave their families for long periods to seek work.

The policy of limiting the birth rate in the form of the so-called "family planning programs" carried out by many governments is playing a certain role in lowering the birth rate. In the opinion of the rapporteur, the results of these programs are turning out to be extremely limited outside the modern sector, but the main thing is that they are unstable and easily reversed. Since it is not underpinned by the essential socioeconomic and cultural development, even in the best case demographic policy remains a palliative rather than an effective means of solving urgent social problems in the developing countries. In and of itself it is incapable of ridding emancipated countries from a further deepening of structural crises and increasing population disproportions. One obvious example is the PRC, where the drop in birth rate achieved as the result of mass enforced administrative measures has not led to improvement in the material position of the popular masses and has been unable to prevent the growth of unemployment and part-time work.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

TURKISH RED CRESCENT HEAD IN UZBEKISTAN--Kemal Demir, president of the Turkish Red Crescent Society, became acquainted with the life of Uzbekistan in the course of several days spent visiting the republic. A friendly meeting was held in the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Health. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Jul 82 p 2]

SWISS COMMUNISTS IN UZBEKISTAN--A group of representatives of the Swiss Labor Party, headed by party Central Committee Politburo member Roger Dafflon, acquainted itself with the life of Uzbekistan. A meeting was held in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Aug 82 p 1]

CSO: 1807/142

NATIONAL

OBKOM SECRETARY ON APPROPRIATE ROLE, PRIVILEGES OF PARTY WORKERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 82 p 2

/Interview with Leonid Aleksandrovich Borodin, first secretary of the CPSU Astrakhan Obkom, by N. Kozhanov, PRAVDA correspondent: "Check Yourself by Deeds"; Astrakhan; date not specified/

/Text/ /There has been no let-up in PRAVDA's editorial mail-bag of letters continuing the conversation begun by the Astrakhan worker, A. Stakhanov's piece, entitled "How Much Should We Take on Ourselves?" Readers support, doubt, dispute.... But in all this polyphony the following main thought resounds like a leit-motif--how important it is for a Communist in every matter and thought not to forget the lofty authority of his party vocation and to guard it like the pupil of his eye.

There are also questions in the letters which are addressed directly to the Astrakhan Communists. How has the discussion which has developed on the pages of this newspaper been received in the oblast's party organizations? Was this done in order to eliminate those shortcomings and omissions which were indicated by A. Stakhanov and the participants in the conversation which took place in the Astrakhan party gorkom ("We Answer for Everything," PRAVDA, 27 Jan)? This topic also became a key one in the following interview which our PRAVDA correspondent had with the first secretary of the CPSU Astrakhan obkom, Leonid Aleksandrovich Borodin./ */in italics/*

--All of us party workers of the oblast and city, noted L. A. Borodin,--have been following with the liveliest interest the newspaper column entitled "The Honor and Authority of a Communist." And not only because the "leader of the choir" was an Astrakhanian--a man who is well-known and respected among us. The topic itself touched, it may be said, the main nerve of party work, that by which we live and which we ponder about. The activity of a Communist. His attitude toward his work. His ideological and moral example. Here there are three "kits," on which the success of any matter is based.

/Question/ /In that case, Leonid Aleksandrovich, perhaps it would be worthwhile to dwell on these "kits" in more detail./

[Answer] Let's do that. But first a few words about the fall-out which was brought about among Astrakhanians by A. Stakhanov's piece. In the oblast center, for example, it was discussed in all the primary party organizations without exception. At meetings in party groups 67 percent of the Communists spoke out, and in workshop organizations--roughly one out of three. Moreover, almost everywhere the meetings were open. Komsomol members and non-party members also mounted the rostrum. Agitators and political information specialists conducted more than 7,300 interviews. An entire political day was actively devoted to this topic. The course of the discussion from issue to issue was elucidated in the city's large-circulation newspapers. And if you take a look at these materials, the minutes of the meetings, you will be convinced that the mood was most urgent.

[Question] Well, and what conclusion did the Communists reach?

[Answer] The principal conclusion might be stated as follows: a party member ought to take upon himself as much as the matter at hand requires. And these are not simply general words and calls. The conversation was extremely specific. For example, at the Shipyard imeni S. M. Kirov, where A. Stakhanov works, a very strong reprimand was given to the deputy general director for production, V. Bazov, for shortcomings in production preparations and for a formalistic attitude toward party duties. Also reprimanded were certain secretaries of the workshop organizations, Communists who have been shirking active work.... To put it more briefly, when the results of the discussion began to be summarized in the party gorkom, more than 800 suggestions and notes were deemed worthy of attention. Now they are being implemented.

[Question] All this, it must be supposed, is from the area of the first "kit"--heightening activity. But is there not a danger here that it will amount principally to speeches from the rostrum and resolutions? And what is happening in practice? Are there any changes here?

[Answer] If there were none of them, then what sense would there be in all our speeches and articles? Of course, nothing changes in a single instant, by waving some kind of magic wand. Work must be done. Nevertheless, even during these last few months one can note how a sense of urgency has increased, for example, in the smaller party organizations. And, you know, we have here construction, trade, and the service field--these are the most important sectors. Accounting reports of Communists have begun to be practiced much more often, as well as interviews. High, demanding standards have increased. In short, now in most party organizations the easy life for these most notorious "passive members," and even more so for violators of discipline, bad workmen, and others, has now become a thing of the past. Many party members from among those who just yesterday "were sitting in the shade" are now themselves joining their party committees and bureaus; they are requesting assignments and uttering their opinions on the state of affairs in the group.

[Question] And here, evidently, the second "kit" is being put into operation--attitude toward the business at hand. Is that right?

[Answer] Precisely. This is the lever with which no difficulties are to be feared. Here now we have been talking mainly about the city. But, you know, this process--the growth of a sense of urgency among party organizations and Communists--is no less real in the rural areas. Especially now, when we are confronted with

the responsible tasks of implementing the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU CC, the Foodstuff Program.

[Question] Who, in your opinion, deserves to be held up as a model for the oblast's rural Communists to emulate with regard to attitude toward the matter at hand?

[Answer] We have quite a few such "beacons" here. Take, let's say, Gurnov, Aleksey Mikhaylovich--a rice-grower on the New Life Kolkhoz, or Svinareva, Zinaida Ivanovna--director of the Zelenginskiy Sovkhoz, or the brigade-leader of the vegetable growers, Kozhevnikov, Aleksey Kirillovich.... These are people whom I trust as I would myself. Whether the year turns out bad or good, you always know that they will not come to you with excuses; they will do everything possible to grow and gather the harvest, to take one more step forward.

While we are on the subject of attitude towards one's work, let me mention one more Communist. This is Ivan Andreyevich Dedov, a melon grower. Not so long ago he was among the "five-hundreders" here (his brigade was the first to achieve a crop yield of more than 500 quintals of watermelons per hectare), while now he has passed the 1000 mark. Can you imagine that? And his most important "secret," as I have personally been convinced on many occasions, is an enthusiasm for the matter at hand without any looking back.

We also have other types here who try to explain away whatever failures occur on their farms; they like to complain that they didn't have quite enough equipment say, "or not enough fertilizer was delivered to them, the weather was "not suitable," etc. Dedov has no more equipment than the others, and the same sky is over his head. So why does everything turn out well for him even during the most difficult years? Because he himself and, following his example, all the people in his brigade, are in love with their work; they live for it and do not think of themselves as apart from it.

Once during the springtime I drove out to see Ivan Andreyevich, and we walked out together over the planted fields to have a look at the young shoots. I saw that his jacket pocket was torn and all soaked through. "What's that you have there?" I asked. He carefully pulled out of his ragged pocket a moist watermelon seedling which had begun to sprout. Well now, he said, I planted this where it wouldn't grow properly or where a jerboa [a rodent] might eat it. To be precise, as in science, there are 7,500 plants per hectare. So how are we supposed to react when people behave like this?

Word of honor, I bow down before such people.

[Question] You'd like to have a few more such people, eh?

[Answer] This also depends on us. On the level of organizational and educational work by the party committees. And most importantly, again, on the personal example of the Communists. Particularly the managers. In my opinion, this thought was very precisely expressed in PRAVDA by a Communist from Qmsk named V. Lebedeva, responding to the piece by Stakhanov. She wrote well about the nonchalance, indifference, and mercantilism on the part of some workers. You know, who among us



goes in, above all, for supplementary registration and eye-wash? Those for whom the work entrusted to them is not the important thing but rather the post, the official position, those who strive with a minimal expenditure of effort to achieve the maximum amount of privileges for themselves.

Here, let's say, is that notorious adjustment. How many times have I had to hear out some manager, as he, by way of explaining the reasons for failure, refers to excessively raised plans and their unreality. Practically in tears, he begs that they be "adjusted." It is not me, he says, who is to be pitied; the group is suffering. And I always have the following question on the tip of my tongue: why didn't you, my dear friend, think of the group when you agreed to such an assignment when it was still at the stage of being worked out and approved? Why didn't you set forth your own well-grounded calculations in the necessary manner?...

But I, of course, have a very good idea how these things happen. Here comes our director to see the chief of the main administration or the minister. The latter claps him on the shoulder: I know you, he says, you'll pull through. You understand, it's necessary! And so forth, and so on. Well, the flattered director here softens up momentarily: of course, Van Vanych, rest assured, we won't shame you. But then he comes to me with the following complaint: what shall I do, the ministry has launched an unrealistic plan?...

Well, and then you start criticizing us, saying that certain party committees are reiterating the adjustments. And you are right to criticize because such a practice demobilizes people, gets them used to a lack of responsibility, and corrupts them. Isn't this so?

Question But, you know, there are sometimes cases where it really is NECESSARY. It may be difficult but NECESSARY.

Answer Of course, there are such cases. But then, if the task has already been undertaken, reinforce the plan by mobilizing all reserves, boost people, their creative thought and initiative. That, by the way, is also how our best managers and party committees proceed. Likewise, this touchstone is used to check out our attitude toward the task at hand, our party maturity and civic conscience.

Question This is, perhaps, already from the area of the third "kit." By the way, how do you regard the thought which was expressed during the conversation in the party gorkom by the lathe-operator at the Plant imeni Lenin, Ivan Vasil'yevich Kopylov? Do you remember? He said that we often expect from a Communist, in the first place, solid production indicators. But at times it is considered improper even to ask what is in his soul, what are his human ideals, whether he has or is cultivating a sense of elementary decency.

Answer Ivan Vasil'yevich has made a fine point here. Our personnel errors most often begin from just such an inappropriate "shyness." There are some persons whom nature has not "favored" with intellect or capabilities. But, in a way, they try. They deliver speeches from the rostrum--and you listen. They have characteristics like a glass bead. Well, what if somewhere something happened, and they insulted somebody or intrigued against somebody.... And so what happens then? Well, they are living persons. With our kind aid they climb up the service

"ladder" step by step, when it "unexpectedly" turns out that their souls lacked the most important thing--a moral core.

[Question] But could you be specific?...

[Answer] Okay, I'll be specific. Not so long ago, to be more precise--in April, I had to dismiss from his post the first secretary of the Trusovskiy Party Raykom of Astrakhan, Viktor Fedorovich Klochkov, because of misuse of his service position.

[Question] Precisely what?

[Answer] He had materials hauled away from construction projects for his own dacha at cost. He had an old motor vehicle repaired (also not by himself, of course) and re-sold it at a profit....

[Question] But, listen, it was only last year, you know, as far as I recall, that the party obkom bureau punished a whole series of management officials for various machinations around dacha sites. A. Stakhanov wrote about this and criticized the party organs for their liberal approach. And in the gorkom the conversation touched on this....

[Answer] And Klochkov himself, I might add, took part in this conversation, if you recall. I have read the stenographic report.... Moreover, we could not, did not have the right to, dismiss the man; this matter was on hold. And, you know, this was not a person from somewhere outside; he grew up under our own eyes. He graduated from Komsomol school and was comparatively young and energetic. Where did we lose sight of him? Most likely, someone remained silent when it was necessary to warn him, to straighten him out. Someone was hesitant to insult him inadvertently, to spoil relations, to sound the alarm "over trifles"....

But if such a person, I repeat, has not developed a moral core in his soul, then the only thing to do is to fire him. Here I am entirely in agreement with what Ivan Yefimovich Klimenko, first secretary of the Smolensk party obkom, wrote in his article, "For Oneself and People." There is nothing bad in a man thinking about his housing, earnings, or the well-being of his family. It is bad when chasing after these benefits becomes the main purpose of his life, when the boundary of what is allowed is crossed, a moral boundary, after which a person no longer has the right to remain a Communist.

[Question] But is everybody capable of seeing this boundary precisely?

[Answer] Everybody. Of course, if we conduct educational work in a formalistic manner, the ideas about such a boundary can become mixed up here and there in various people. Not long ago I received a letter from a group of women workers at a meat-packing combine. They were complaining about their foreman. They write that he takes out eight kilograms of meat through the gate each time but forbids them to take more than one kilogram. It already seems legitimate among them to take out "their own" kilogram. Just imagine how mixed up in the consciousness of these people all the criteria of morality, honor, and conscience were! And what a severe sentence for this is deserved by the party organizations and the Communists!

[Question] Yes, the third "kit" poses some difficult problems at times. Judging by their letters, our readers also consider the following: many moral excesses begin when at a certain stage we weaken our high requirements of each other, at meetings and in communications we prefer compliments, and we are too shy to tell a person the bitter truth directly to his face.

[Answer] They are right. Communists are obligated to distinguish with maximum precision between black and white, between truth and lies. And not only to distinguish but also to struggle so that in any instances the truth of our cause may prevail, and the interests of society and the state may be victorious.

And so this is the task which, no matter how difficult it may be, I consider that Communists must--simply must--take upon themselves.

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## NATIONAL

### CURRENT EFFORTS AT PLANNING IDEOLOGICAL WORK OUTLINED

Moscow VOPROSOY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 82 pp 89-102

[Article by B. M. Morozov, V. Ye. Fadeyev (Sverdlovsk) and V. V. Shinkarenko: "Questions Concerning the Combined Planning of Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work Under Modern Conditions"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out the need to reconstruct many sectors and spheres of ideological work. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "It is necessary to see to it that its content becomes more topical and that its forms answer the present needs and requirements of the Soviet people".<sup>1</sup>

Planning is one of the important means for insuring the mentioned reconstruction. Under modern conditions, it is done by party organizations on the basis of a combined approach. In order to solve the tasks which are facing us in the area of ideological, political and indoctrinational work in a composite manner, the CPSU Central Committee has required the central committees of the union republic communist parties, kraykoms, obkoms, okrug committees, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party to develop long range and annual plans for the communist indoctrination of the workers -- plans which coordinate the efforts of party, soviet, public and economic organs to insure the unity of the ideolgocial, political, work, and moral indoctrination of all population groups.<sup>2</sup>

As was pointed out in the report during the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers in October 1979, "all party committees have developed, ratified and begun to carryout long-range composite plans for ideological activity".<sup>3</sup>

The CPSU Central Committee has recommended that party organizations teach ideological cadre current and long-range ideological work planning practices.<sup>4</sup> During recent years, experiences in planning ideological, political and indoctrinational work are being studied within the party training sytem.

An analysis of the experience of party organizations shows that the 26th CPSU Congress, its materials and documents, has provided a new impulse to the further development of the entire planning sytem for ideological, political and indoctrinational work.

M. V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said during the All-Union Seminar Conference of Ideological Workers in April 1981: "Today, questions concerning the compilation and implementation of ideological work plans, which are connected with the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress -- plans which are operational and long term -- are among the primary concerns of party committees and the editorial boards of newspapers, television and publishers. The plans, of course, must be carefully thought out with a consideration for the distinctive features of the specific tasks which are being solved in all sectors of communist organizational development. During the past years, special purpose programs for the ideological support of large scale economic tasks and of public and political campaigns and combined long-range plans for the communist indoctrination of the workers have well proven themselves. It is necessary to use all this valuable experience. At the same time, the main attention should be devoted to the practical organization of the task, directly to ideological and political work among the masses and to checking on how the decisions, which have been adopted, and the plans, which have been outlined, are being consistently implemented".<sup>5</sup>

Party organizations are trying to insure a highly qualified approach to planning in the area of ideology, an increase in its effectiveness and an improvement in its influence on all aspects of the workers' communist indoctrination and on a further improvement in the ideological support of large scale economic tasks and public and political campaigns.

As was recently pointed out during a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, a very important task of ideological workers is to bring the propositions and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report entitled "On the USSR Food Program for the Period out to 1990 and the Measures To Implement It" and the content of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum documents to all workers. They have been called upon to help in every way possible party organizations in the spread of active organizational and political work among the workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia in implementing the Food Program and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees which have been adopted in connection with it.<sup>6</sup>

Recently, in carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee connected with reorganization of the various sectors and spheres of ideological work, party organizations are raising the level and quality of planning to a new height, deepening its content and improving its forms and methods. They rely in this work on the earlier acquired experience in combined planning, including that which has been treated in literature.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, experience shows that party organizations are also experiencing certain difficulties in planning ideological, political and indoctrinational work. The fact is that planning of this type is extremely complicated. In order to plan the ideological effect on people over a protracted period and on the most varied questions and not move from the correct path in doing it -- in the direction of formalism or into frivolous and groundless hare-brained schemes, it is necessary to adhere to a scientific approach.

Unfortunately, there are still very few scientific recommendations, and those, which do exist, are in many cases contradictory. Without a doubt, G. V. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad

Party Obkom, is correct when he points out that researchers, who are specializing in the field of ideological, political and indoctrinational work planning, frequently perform theoretical work apart from life; this leads to discrepancies in methodology, contradictory recommendations, etc.<sup>8</sup>

At the present time, the practical workers, who are performing ideological, political and indoctrinational activity planning in party organizations, are experiencing the need for recommendations which would permit the incorporation into practices of not one-two plans, but a complete system of plans -- long-term (more than five years), five-year, annual, quarterly, etc. This should not be an accidental aggregate of plans, but a system in which each plan occupies its own definite place. This permits the activity of different establishments and organizations -- party, soviet, public, and economic -- to be coordinated, achieving the close unity of the ideological, organizational and economic activity of party organizations.

Considering this, the following questions are being examined in the present consultation: a) the combined planning of the workers' communist indoctrination; and b) combined planning within the ideological work system. Planning is being examined here basically at the level of the party raykoms and primary party organizations and mainly in an instructional methods respect.

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A study of the experiences of party organizations in the area of the long-range planning of the workers' communist indoctrination shows that its combined nature is assured primarily when this planning takes place on the basis of a consideration of the series of tasks which have been put forward in the most important party documents: in the CPSU Program; the materials of the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th party congresses; the decisions of Central Committee plenums; the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee; and the works and speeches of L. I. Brezhnev and other party and government leaders.

The Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work", the materials of the 16-17 October 1979 All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers, the materials of the 20-25 April 1981 All-Union Conference-Seminar of Ideological Workers, and the materials of the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference have a great deal of importance in determining the goals, tasks, directions, and structure of combined plans.

Party organizations are guided in the planning process by the documents which have been developed by party organs in conferences, plenums, aktivs and bureaus and in which the general requirements for communist indoctrination, which conform to the tasks of local organizations, are usually given concrete expression.

The combined nature of planning is also insured when all ideological establishments and organizations, which perform indoctrinational work in the city and rayon -- especially the trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations -- participate under the direction of the party committee in the development of the communist indoctrination plan.

When planning ideological and indoctrinational work under modern conditions, party organizations proceed from the fact that there is no unimportant and secondary task in it. They try not to overlook a single aspect in the formation of our contemporary's personality so as not to inflict damage on the entire task of indoctrination.

In real life, communist indoctrination is a single process. All its aspects and directions are closely interrelated. At the same time, experience shows that in this single process a number of relatively independent directions, which correspond to certain forms of public awareness and to the party's program tasks in the field of rearing the new individual, stand out for practical purposes, including planning purposes. This permits party organizations to outline for the future plans for a thorough ideological effect on the masses; prepare specialized ideological personnel to carry out the various communist indoctrination tasks; improve all ideological, political and indoctrinational work; raise its effectiveness; etc.

Such experience has been acquired in Moscow and Leningrad, in the Ukraine, in Belorussia, in Moldavia, in Krasnoyarskiy Kray, and in Sverdlovskaya, Chelyabinskaya and other oblasts.

V. V. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow party gorkom, points out: "In directing the efforts of CPSU raykoms and party organizations toward the carrying out of a composite approach to ideological and indoctrinational work, the CPSU Moscow gorkom is steadfastly guaranteeing the close unity of ideological-political, work and moral indoctrination. These three avenues of ideological and indoctrinational work essentially embrace all its other aspects: patriotic and international, atheistic and esthetic, legal, and physical training".<sup>9</sup>

A study of the experiences of party organizations shows that a number of relatively independent avenues can be conditionally singled out in the single composite planning process for the workers' communist indoctrination, viz.:

- The planning of ideological and political indoctrination;
- The planning of patriotic and international indoctrination;
- The planning of the work to instill implacability toward bourgeois ideology, psychology and morals and toward the remnants of the past in the consciousness and conduct of people;
- The planning of work and economic indoctrination;
- The planning of moral indoctrination;
- The planning of legal indoctrination;
- The planning of atheistic indoctrination;
- The planning of esthetic indoctrination;



- The planning of physical training;
- The planning ecological indoctrination, etc.<sup>10</sup>

Let us briefly examine the distinctive features in each one of the above mentioned avenues.

The heart of ideological, political and indoctrinational work and the central core of communist indoctrination has been and remains the formation of a scientific world outlook based on Marxism-Leninism as a complete and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, social, and political views. This is done primarily during the ideological and political indoctrination process. As a rule, its planning provides for the solution of the following tasks: the study of Marxist-Leninist theory; the intensification of all types of political study, and the development of political self-education and self-indoctrination; an explanation of the CPSU's activity, the publicizing of party congress materials, Central Committee plenum documents, and the speeches of L. I. Brezhnev and other party leaders; the intensification of the process for converting knowledge into personal convictions and into a guide for action, the inclusion of the workers in public and political practices, and the increasing of their activity in all spheres of political life. In order to solve these tasks in party organizations successfully, the party training system is embraced in the planning. In doing this for the future, the subject and number of seminars, circles and schools; the number of students in them; etc. are determined. At the same time, the party committees help in the planning of Komsomol training and coordinate the activity of the different ideological establishments and organizations.<sup>11</sup>

It was pointed out during the 26th CPSU Congress that the indoctrination of people in Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism has been and remains a very important task for party and other public organizations.<sup>12</sup> Under modern conditions, party organizations have acquired quite a bit of planning experience in this sector of communist indoctrination.

An analysis of the long-range plans and existing literature, including that of an instructional methods nature,<sup>13</sup> shows that the solution of the following tasks is being provided for in a number of party organizations during the Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism indoctrination planning process: the instilling of a sense of national pride at whose basis lie the achievements of our motherland in all areas of communist organizational development; the broad publicizing of the international and patriotic features of the socialist way of life; the explanation of the international and patriotic duty of the Soviet people to the international working class and to all humanity in solving the fundamental questions of today and in defending the cause of peace throughout the world; and the unmasking of nationalistic prejudices and the development of a solid social immunity against displays of national narrow-mindedness, localism and devotion to obsolete traditions and rites.

During the implementation process of the plans, party organizations are trying to insure the workers' thorough mastery of the ideas and principles of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and they are seeing to their conversion into convictions and standards of conduct for the people.



For these purposes, the following are usually provide for; work watches in honor of jubilees and the anniversaries of the formation of the USSR and the union republics; reviews, competitions, month-long campaigns or 10-day campaigns on questions concerning the culture of the peoples of the union republics and the countries of the socialist commonwealth; intensification of the activities of international friendship clubs and strengthening the friendly ties with work collectives both within and outside the country; trips by youth to places of revolutionary, combat and work fame and the activity of military sports camps; the conducting of holidays connected with historical dates in the Soviet armed forces; improvement of international and patriotic work among the youth who are of pre-induction and induction age; and the creation of clubs for future fighting men.

The CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "Concerning the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work" requires that a timely and fitting rebuff be given to the ideological subversive activity of imperialism and its minions and that a consistent struggle be waged against any forms of opportunism and revisionism.<sup>14</sup>

In planning this work, party organizations see their task to be the formation of a class consciousness and class watchfulness and the achieving of an immunity in the workers to ideas, which are hostile to socialism and communism, and an increase in their militancy in the ideological struggle.

Often, the struggle against alien views and ideas is planned for each of the primary avenues in communist indoctrination. At the same time, experience shows that -- when necessary -- an independent subsection, which includes the main measures to improve the struggle against influences which are alien to the socialist way of life, can also be provided in the political and indoctrinational work plan.

Measures for the following avenues are outlined in such a subsection; exposure of theoretical insolvency, the unmasking of the class nature and social role of the different currents which are hostile to socialism and communism -- anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, fascism, racism, Zionism, Maoism, modern reformism, revisionism, clericalism, etc; a critique of the main directions in the falsification of social developments which are being put forward by hostile ideologists (the falsification of history and the problems of modern society's development, a critique of the biased forecasts for the future); an explanation of the class functions and anti-democratic trend in the mechanism for manipulating the consciousnesses of the masses in modern bourgeois society; and the unmasking of the lying and disinformation methods and psychological influence devices which are used by hostile propaganda centers.<sup>15</sup>

Work and economic indoctrination planning is aimed at the formation of a communist attitude toward work and the economic standards of a Soviet individual. In many party organizations, work indoctrination is basically planned along the following avenues; development of socialist competition, movements for the highest indicators in work; the spread of initiatives and progressive experience; the development of streamlining proposals and inventiveness and the scientific and techni-

cal creativity of the youth; the improvement of the professional training and re-training of personnel; the improvement of the tutorship movement, including the sponsorship of professional and technical institutes and schools; the instilling of work discipline; the struggle against loafing wasted time; etc.

The following is provided for when planning economic indoctrination: the improvement of economic studies; strengthening the struggle for the carrying out of production plans and increasing the effectivity and quality of work; increasing the activity of independent and creative permanently operating production meetings and bureaus for economic analysis and the work in the groups which search for production reserves in public personnel sections, in people's control groups, in "Komsomol Spotlight" groups, etc.<sup>16</sup>

When planning moral indoctrination in party organizations, they proceed from the fact that the task of converting communist moral principles into personal moral qualities is solved in a developed socialist society by means of this type of indoctrinational work and that the formation of an individual's active vital position takes place when the unity of words and deeds becomes a daily standard of conduct.<sup>17</sup>

In party organizations, they of course consider that an active vital position, moral duty, responsibility, conscience, honesty, high principles, and other moral qualities are also formed as a result of ideological, political, work, and legal indoctrination and also by practical activity -- work, cognitive, etc. This occurs because morality essentially embraces all areas of an individual's vital activity.

At the same time, the specific tasks, which face party organizations, require that a narrower meaning of moral indoctrination be considered as a process connected with the dissemination of ethical knowledge and the formation of each individual's communist moral features and that this process be planned.

Based on the party's directions and a concrete analysis of the state of work in this sector of ideological activity, the solution of the following tasks are being outlined in a number of party organizations: the publicizing of the moral norms, principles and ideals of conduct of the future communist type of individual; the formation of moral qualities -- kindness, duty, honor, conscience, etc; the formation of judicious wants; the development of habits of moral conduct in accordance with inner convictions; the formation of favorable moral and psychological climate in the collective; the improvement of family relations; and the strengthening of the struggle against the antipodes of communist morality. In accordance with the tasks, measures are being planned which provide for: the study of the bases of communist morality; the creation and maintenance of a healthy moral and political climate in collectives; the making of workers' honor councils, comrades' courts, community councils, etc. more active; the creation, development and approval of new socialist rituals; the improvement of the work in strengthening families; etc.<sup>18</sup>

They try to plan legal indoctrination in party organizations so as to raise the legal awareness level of the masses during the implementation of the plan and to see to it that respect for rights and law becomes the personal conviction of each

worker. Of course, the high legal awareness of Soviet people and their conduct are already being conditioned by socialist social relationships themselves and by the entire tenor of life of the Soviet people. At the same time, the experience of party organizations shows that scientific opinions towards state and legal relationships are formed and a sense of respect for Soviet laws is inculcated as a result of systematic and consistent influence on the consciousnesses of the workers. This brings people to a deep conviction in the equity and necessity of law, and the observance of laws becomes their daily habit.

When compiling and implementing the plan, one also has in mind the fact that legal awareness and a knowledge of the laws do not guarantee the observance of legal norms. Therefore, they try in party organizations to obtain objective information on how legal norms are being observed in actuality, how the specific work with them is being performed, who is inclined to violating the law, how widely the workers participate in strengthening law and order, etc.

The planning of legal indoctrination in party organizations includes: planning the work of the appropriate departments in people's universities and of classes in the schools of legal knowledge and the work of lecture bureaus and meetings with law enforcement organ employees, etc. The legal training of enterprise and public organization directors, especially the chairmen and members of comrade's courts, is also planned. Work plans are also compiled for the voluntary people's teams, Komsomol operational detachments and other public organizations. Measures for working with persons who are inclined to violate the law are also outlined.<sup>19</sup>

Many party organizations are successfully planning the atheistic indoctrination of the workers. In doing this, they proceed from the fact that atheistic work is directed at overcoming religious prejudices in the consciousness and conduct of people and at developing their materialistic world outlook and atheistic convictions. In determining specific atheistic indoctrination tasks, party organizations are guided by the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Improving the Atheistic Indoctrination of the Population"<sup>20</sup> and the appropriate propositions in the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law).<sup>21</sup>

During the planning process in party organizations, they try to take into consideration the psychology of the believers and the peculiarities in the display of religion and the performance of religious rituals in the city or rayon. The plan provides for: the formation of the workers' scientific world outlook and correct position with regard to religious morality, superstitions and prejudices; the improvement of individual work with believers; their involvement in public life; etc. Measures along the following lines are often planned in them: making the work of scientific atheism councils, atheist clubs and lecture bureaus more active; improving the activity of propagandists who are performing individual work with believers; conducting 10-day atheistic work campaigns, evening question and answer sessions, public debates, etc.<sup>22</sup>

In planning esthetic indoctrination, party organizations consider their primary task to be teaching to accept and value what is beautiful; to find its manifestation in life, in human deeds and in works of art; and to evoke the desire to follow all that is beautiful and to struggle for it. For these purposes, the

activity of the workers' esthetic indoctrination cultural enlightenment establishments (houses of culture, clubs and libraries), classes in the university of culture, film lectures, trips to artistic museums, viewings of spectacles, acquaintance with architectural memorials, meetings with art figures, etc. are planned.

In the primary party organizations which function in work collectives, the long-range plan includes measures along the following lines: improvement of production and technical esthetics in enterprises; improving the activity of the workers' cultural enlightenment and voluntary creative associations; publicizing esthetic values through the organizations of the "Znanıye" Society and the universities of culture; developing ties with theaters, museums, etc.<sup>23</sup>

The physical training, which is planned in many party organizations, is directed at thoroughly improving the people's health and developing physical strength, endurance, etc. In doing this, the following avenues of work are not lost sight of: comprehensively and thoroughly explaining to the workers the party's policy in the area of the Soviet people's physical training; and forming in the workers a conscious need for physical improvement.

As experience shows, an improvement in the activity of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations; economic organs; and medical, physical training and the other state and public establishments which participate in the physical training of the workers is usually provided for in the long-range plans. They also include in physical training a physical training movement whose planning is done along the following lines: improving the health and physical development of the different social and professional population categories by means of physical training and sports; achieving high athletic results by the most gifted sports men; involving children and teenagers in physical training and sports; developing physical training at the places where people live; etc.<sup>24</sup>

During recent years, ecological indoctrination, whose main task is the formation and strengthening of rational standards of individual conduct with regards to the environment, is being planned in a number of party organizations. Ecological indoctrination provides for measures to involve workers in the task of protecting the environment in accordance with the most important party documents: participation in the work of appropriate organizations (environmental protection societies, hunting and fishing societies, the headquarters of "green patrols", etc.); the laying-out of forest park zones; the planting of trees and shrubs on the territory of enterprises, the rayon and city; public control over the condition of the environment; etc. Guardianship of country rest areas and the participation of workers in the planting of trees and shrubs on the territory of schools, pre-school establishments and professional technical institutes are often planned within the work to preserve and restore the environment.<sup>25</sup>

In some party organizations, they are planning work for the general development of the workers' intellectual capabilities, or so-called intellectual indoctrination. Here, the following stand out as the main tasks: raising the educational level; organizing and stimulating education and self-education which is directed toward complete personality development, the revealing of an individual's capabilities and the realization of his spiritual interests; forming a need to expand knowledge and to apply it creatively in production, social and political activity; etc.<sup>26</sup>

In defining their ideological activity for the basic directions in communist indoctrination (ideological, political, work, moral, etc.), party organizations strive to outline its future contours considering the distinctive features of the different social groups.

Thus, the main avenues in the communist indoctrination of the workers are given concrete expression for the places where they work, reside and rest in the ideological, political and indoctrinational work plan of Moscow's Oktyabr'skiy CPSU raykom for 1981-1985. The subsections, where indoctrinational work among the different categories of workers and intelligentsia, cultural and health care workers, service personnel, youth, women, pensioners, etc., is outlined, are especially notable.<sup>27</sup>

A consideration of the real interests of the masses is one of the important conditions for a business-like and non-formal approach to the planning of ideological, political and indoctrinational work. K. U. Chernenko, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, writes: "Formalism is intolerable everywhere. However, it causes especially great harm in ideological, indoctrinational and propaganda work. Here, formalism emerges as a direct depersonalization of people: For a formalist, any audience appears as an amorphous conglomeration of faces without sex, age and social affiliation and with leveled interests and wants".<sup>28</sup> Experience convincingly testifies that, by combining the planning of ideological activity along the main avenues of communist indoctrination with a consideration of the distinctive features of the different categories of workers, party organizations generally embrace this work thoroughly and comprehensively in the planning. This insures an increase in its purposefulness, organization, and -- consequently -- results.

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The planning of communist indoctrination will become even more effective if it is supplemented with planning in the field of expanding and improving the system of ideological activity. Here, definite experience has also been acquired. Its study shows that a certain level of party organization ideological work must correspond to the tasks which have been outlined in the plans for the workers' communist indoctrination.

This supposes the existence of a close connection between communist indoctrination planning and the planning for the further development and improvement of the entire system of party organization ideological activity. The following avenues are often noted in it:

- Planning in the area of party leadership of ideological work and its coordination;
- Planning in the field of improving the basic types, means, forms, and methods of ideological activity;
- Planning the work with ideological cadre;
- Planning the development of the material base for ideological, political and indoctrinational work;

-- Planning specific sociological research and the study, summation and dissemination of progressive experiences in ideological activity;

-- Planning the development of the ideological, political and indoctrinational work planning system.

The improvement of party leadership and coordination is an important condition for increasing the effectiveness of the workers' ideological indoctrination. Practice testifies that this work can be performed according to a plan which provides for the following: the dissemination and more precise definition of planning tasks, indicators and measures for the main avenues in communist indoctrination; coordination of the procedure for implementing joint measures during the fulfillment of the communist indoctrination plan; the joint development and incorporation of adjustments introduced into the communist indoctrination plan during its implementation; the coordinated summing up of results in the implementation of the communist indoctrination plan; the main questions which require the joint solution of party, economic and Komsomol organs; etc.<sup>29</sup>

In a number of party organizations, the improvement of the main types, means, forms, and methods of ideological activity is carried out according to a plan which includes the following avenues: the types of ideological activity; the means of ideological influence; and the forms and methods of ideological and indoctrinational work.

When planning the work to improve the types of ideological activity, tasks are usually assigned and measures outlined to improve communist propaganda, political agitation (oral and visual), and economic education. In order to improve the means of ideological influence, measures are planned to improve the work of the ideological establishments and organizations through whom the communist indoctrination of the workers is carried out. The mass information and propaganda media -- the press, radio, television, establishments in the party and Komsomol training system, and the ideological establishments of trade unions, the Komsomol, the "Znaniye" Society, DOSAAF, and other public organizations -- are related to them. When planning the improvement of ideological and indoctrinational work forms and methods, many party organizations first of all provide for the further development and improvement of mass and individual ideological influence forms and of the independent and collective work to master Marxist-Leninist theory; oral and written, dynamic and fixed, ideological influence forms and methods which employ technical means; such indoctrinational measures as persuasion and example; etc.<sup>30</sup>

The outlined communist indoctrination plan can only exist when it is implemented -- when it is embodied in the activity of ideological cadre. Therefore, work with ideological cadre is also provided for in the ideological, political and indoctrinational work plans along with other ideological indoctrinational questions.<sup>31</sup>

The planning provides for the cadre's training, the determining of the most effective forms for the theoretical and instructional methods training of the various groups in the ideological aktiv, the strengthening of their specialization, and the improvement of the cadre's political information system.



Party organizations try first of all to insure the activists' training in the permanently operating seminars, which correspond to their specialty, and in the special courses, which are organized by the party committees, and to establish a systematic check on their training. Special attention is paid to the annual selection for the University of Marxism-Leninism and to the use of its graduates.

In order to increase the professional skill of the ideological cadre, the following are planned: attendance (with a subsequent critique) at individual measures; scientific and practical conferences; instructional methods consultations with experienced organizers, propagandists, lecturers, agitators, and other ideological workers; instructional methods papers which have been written by activists on the individual subjects of the propaganda measures and on their organization; a collective discussion of the personal plans of propagandists and agitators and the work plans of political schools, lecture bureaus and agitation centers; etc.<sup>32</sup>

As V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, points out, under modern conditions a further rise in the level of ideological, political and indoctrinational work "requires the strengthening of its material and technical base."<sup>33</sup> Party organizations are determining future indicators for supplying the workers with places in the various establishments of cultural, educational, sports, and defense organizations during the planning process for developing the material base of ideological indoctrination with a consideration for scientifically sound norms. The construction or reconstruction of installations which have an ideological and indoctrinational purpose (houses of culture, clubs, training combines, sports halls, strong points for the defense of public order, clubs and rooms of work glory, etc.) are being planned. Measures for the systematic replenishment of library stocks, slide films, slides and artistic reproductions and also measures which contribute to a growth in the demand for cultural and personal services goods -- televisions, radio receivers, tape recorders, cameras, etc., are being provided for. At the same time, questions concerning the financial support of ideological and indoctrinational work are not being lost sight of.<sup>34</sup>

Concrete sociological research is an important -- although not the only -- source of the information which is needed when planning ideological, political and indoctrinational work. Party organizations are successfully planning sociological research.<sup>35</sup>

Experience shows that research along the following main lines can be provided for by the plan: the revealing of the workers' communist consciousness level and their readiness and ability to solve the tasks in the construction of communism; the revealing of the level of ideological and indoctrinational work among the different categories of workers; and the revealing of the effectiveness of the workers' communist indoctrination.

This research can be performed jointly for all the above mentioned avenues or selectively for one or two of them. The research to determine the effectiveness of communist indoctrination is the most complicated; it requires a great deal of preparatory work.<sup>36</sup>

Sociological research is an important help in collecting the necessary information. Nevertheless, one ought not to over-estimate its importance. Experience testifies that it is unnecessary if the needed information can be obtained by a normal method, for example, during the study of statistical material.

Positive experience is accumulated in any task, including that of ideological indoctrination, when it is conducted successfully. Its summation and dissemination is an important condition for the further improvement of ideological, political and indoctrinational work. It is usually planned on the basis of a study of specific needs and the requirement for this or that experience and -- of course -- on the basis of a study of the complete condition of ideological and indoctrinational work in the party organization. The summation and dissemination of experience in the combined long-range planning of ideological, political and indoctrinational work<sup>37</sup> which has been acquired in party organizations -- have special significance.

The continuous development and improvement of the system for planning ideological, political and indoctrinational work are required to successfully implement the plans which have been compiled by party organizations. The communist indoctrination plan, being an independent document, is at the same time a component part of the plan for party work. It is also closely tied to the plan for the rayon's social and economic development. This interconnection is implemented in such a way that the tasks, indicators and measures, which are outlined in these plans, will not be separate from each other but will be coordinated without fail from the point of view of their content, executors, periods, etc.

The planning system for ideological and indoctrinational work, which has been developed and which embraces the primary party organizations, work collectives and public organizations which are operating in the rayon, simplifies to a considerable degree the relaying of the planned tasks to their immediate executors, their implementation, and the checking of their execution. The creation of a system of interconnected plans, which have been coordinated from top to bottom according to tasks, indicators, measures, executors, and implementation periods, is the result of this planning development. The personal combined plans of the propagandists, agitators, political information specialists, lecturers, speakers, tutors, and the other categories of ideological workers are the important links in this system. Thus, for example, a system of plans which is interconnected at all levels is taking shape in the party organizations of the city of Moscow.<sup>38</sup>

The development of ideological and indoctrinational work planning forms and methods provides for perfecting current and long-range planning, improving its interconnection and mutual supplementing, preparing propaganda campaigns, improving calendar and chronological plans, etc. The development of such specific planning methods as, for example, the thematic one is being provided for in the political educational system, the press, radio, etc.

One of the key tasks of party organizations in developing the planning system for ideological, political and indoctrinational work is a correctly adjusted check on the implementation of the plan. K. U. Chernenko writes: "It is good that we have learned to compile composite, special purpose, long-range plans; but it is necessary to improve planning in the future. It is bad when individual party committees exert so much effort in compiling the different plans that no time remains for their implementation."<sup>39</sup>



In order to achieve the implementation of the plan, party organizations outline measures to check on the fulfillment of the planned indicators for the years and determine the ones responsible for it. Worker commissions (groups) are created for the entire preparation and effectiveness period. Checking on the implementation of an ideological, political and indoctrinational work plan presupposes: a preliminary check on the soundness of the planned indicators and measures; current checking on and adjustment of the plan; the summation of results; and the development of recommendations for the next plan.

The preliminary checking is done during the development and adoption stage of the plan. It is a check on the quality of the draft plan, its soundness and practicality, the purposefulness of the planned tasks, and the practicality of the indicators and measures being planned. Current checking is accomplished during the implementation of the plan for the years of the five-year plan, quarterly or monthly. The necessary adjustments are incorporated directly into the five-year plan as a supplement, and into the planning documents themselves during the compilation of current plans which are developed on the basis of the five-year plan. As a rule, the summarizing of results takes place at the end of the effective period of the five-year plan. In doing this, the degree of its fulfillment is considered, mistakes are analyzed, planning experience is summarized and disseminated, and the starting points for the preparation of the next long-range plan are determined.

Studying the content of combined plans permits several conclusions to be drawn relative to their structure. Usually, a definite section (subsection) of the plan corresponds to a definite avenue in communist indoctrination and in improving the system of ideological and indoctrinational work. As a rule, the following are outlined in it: the most important tasks for the planning period; the planning indicators; and the measures with whose help the assigned tasks can be carried out.

The section (subsection) tasks are assigned or firmed up by making the general communist indoctrination tasks more specific in conformity with the tasks and actual capabilities of the party organization. The measures for implementing the assigned tasks, which are usually included in a plan, are different in their importance, mass character and duration. Not all measures -- but only the most significant, the most popular and the longest in time -- are put into the plan. The indicators are both quantitative and qualitative (descriptive). The former can be absolute (summarized) or relative -- in percentages or based on calculations per 100 (1000) individuals. The latter provide an opportunity to compare ideological and indoctrinational work in organizations which are different in size.

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In conclusion, it is necessary to dwell -- although briefly -- on the subject of the effectiveness of ideological, political and indoctrinational work planning. In general, this question is extremely complicated and requires a special review. It is necessary to say right out that whereas the effectiveness of ideological work has recently received a certain elucidation in literature of a research nature,<sup>40</sup> the effectiveness of its planning is still one of the least studied questions. Therefore, we will touch on it here only in the degree to which it is primarily necessary in an instructional methods regard.

It is clear that planning effectiveness is not ideological work effectiveness. As is known, the latter is determined by the awareness level, social activity, and -- finally -- by the appropriate actions of people.<sup>41</sup> Thus, it is necessary to look for its criteria and indicators among those positive changes in the consciousness and conduct of the masses which can be achieved by exerting an ideological influence on them. True, the effectiveness of ideological, political and indoctrinational work planning is in the final analysis demonstrated through its effectiveness. You see, its meaning is in improving the organization and -- in the final analysis -- the effectiveness of ideological influence, its results, its efficacy.

However, the effectiveness of ideological, political and indoctrinational work planning is primarily demonstrated in the final result of this type of planning -- in the plan itself, in its content, which is presented in the form of a system in which the assigned goals (tasks) are integrally connected with the means which exist in the party organization for their achievement (personnel, the material base, etc.). The experience of party organizations provides quite a few examples of successful ideological, political and indoctrinational work plans which provide a real benefit and which are noted for their high effectiveness. True, there are also examples of another type. Unfortunately, quite a few of these plans, which leave much to be desired, are still being encountered. It seems, that the absence of problems in them can be considered one of the most serious and rather widespread shortcomings in this type of plan.

Strictly speaking, a plan is generally unthinkable without a problem. Any plan -- if one regards it in light of the theory of scientific control -- is a form of administrative decision. A plan is a way to solve a problem. With respect to a solution, a problem is its dialectical opposite. A problem is an unresolved question, the solution of the question removes the problem.

This is the ideal. Naturally, this never happens in practice. First, any -- even the best -- solution and, consequently, plan embrace the problem only approximately -- and nothing can be done here: such are the laws for knowing objective reality. Second, any -- even the best -- plan can be implemented -- in its turn -- only approximately and not completely, not "one for one": such are the laws for the activity of an individual - yes and of society in general - who is pursuing his goals. These are objective laws. Their effect decreases to a well known degree the effectiveness of any plan, seemingly creating a gap between the actually existing problem and the decision being made. This distinctive gap is continually being decreased as science develops and during the social developmental process.

The two factors, which were mentioned above and which decrease the effectiveness of the decision made, are objective ones. It is impossible to countermand their effect; one must reconcile himself to them. However, it is impossible to reconcile oneself with the negative effect of the subjective factor; the more so since its effect calls to life a whole series of ideological, political and indoctrinational work plans which are ineffective, have little effect or are insufficiently effective.

We will dwell briefly on them. First of all, there are the unneeded plans which are sometimes adopted without any necessity and which are as a rule "fulfilled" by themselves during normal every-day affairs. There are also the far-fetched and

unrealistic plans which are the fruit of subjective impulses, good wishes, etc. Finally, there are the formal plans which only create the appearance of real planning but which in fact do not affect the foundations of the problem and its existence. Even if the measures, which are outlined in them are carried out, it makes no difference -- in actuality, they will not provide for an upsurge in ideological, political and indoctrinational work. There are also other varieties of plans whose effectiveness is insufficient: incomplete ones, isolated ones, redundant ones, etc.

In touching upon the reasons for the appearance of these plans, it is first of all necessary to point out the objective reasons to which they are related: the complexity of the problems being solved; the absence of scientific recommendations and earlier acquired experience in solving new problems; insufficient resources required for the complete solution of the problem; etc. Among the subjective factors it is first of all necessary to mention: the absence of information required for planning; the absence of the needed checking on the planning; the obvious or concealed incompetence of personnel; reasons of a psychological nature -- force of habit, the unwillingness to take a risk or assume responsibility, the desire to conceal shortcomings; etc.

When eliminating the reasons for the appearance of plans which have little effect, party organizations strive at the same time to develop optimum -- i.e., the best for the given conditions -- ideological, political and indoctrinational work plans. Of course, in general there can be several possible ways to solve a problem, but there is only one optimum one and it is not easy to find it. Nevertheless, practice shows that it is completely possible to come near to the defining of an optimum solution.

Based on the analysis which has been done, it is possible to single out several basic features or signs of an optimum plan. It seems that an optimum plan should be: necessary, i.e., really needed, put forward by life itself, and not far-fetched; objective, i.e., alien to any unjustified fantasy, subjectivism and voluntarism: In reflecting the real state of affairs, this plan is one of the best solutions for the problem; interesting, i.e., not formal, not general, but extremely specific, one which penetrates into the essence of ideological, political and indoctrinational work: In other words, the content of the planned solution must correspond to the content of the actual problem -- both in scale and in depth; feasible, i.e., adopted only if there is a real possibility of carrying it out; complete, i.e., one which contains in itself a complete program for the removal of the problem and for its own implementation, including the summarizing of results; one which preserves continuity, i.e., a connection with other earlier adopted plans which are in the process of implementation or which have already been fulfilled; easily understood, i.e., understandable and intelligible to ideological workers of all categories, one which does not evoke dual interpretations, one which is clear and definite; one which is not redundant, i.e., one which contains as much information as is required in order to put the forces and resources needed for its implementation into operation.

# FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 75.
2. Cf. "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work". CPSU Central Committee decree dated 26 April 1979, Moscow 1979, p 11.
3. M. A. Suslov, "The Task of All the Party". Report to the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers on 16 October 1979, Moscow, 1979, p 45.
4. Cf. "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS. Sbornik dokumentov" [Ideological Work of the CPSU. Collection of Documents], Moscow, 1977, p. 409.
5. M. V. Zimyanin, "The Next Tasks of Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work Which Flow From the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev" in "Za vysokoye kachestvo i deystvennost' ideologicheskoy raboty. Materialy Vsesoyuznogo seminera-soveshchaniya ideologicheskikh rabotnikov Moskva, 20-25 aprelya 1981 g." [For High Quality and Effectiveness in Ideological Work. Materials on the All-Union Seminar-Conference of Ideological Workers. Moscow, 20-25 April 1981], Moscow 1981, pp 79-80.
6. Cf. "A Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee," PRAVDA, 27 May 1982.
7. For analysis of the literature, cf. VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 9, 1980, pp 116-126.
8. Cf. G. V. Romanov, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1980, p 56.
9. V. V. Grishin, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i," Moscow, 1979, pp 448-449.
10. Cf. P. K. Luchinskiy, "Perspektivnoye planirovaniye ideologicheskoy raboty" [Long-Range Planning for Ideological Work], Moscow, 1975; "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye planirovaniye i ideologicheskaya rabota. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii v Leningrade. 30 sentyabrya - 2 oktyabrya 1975 g." [Social Economic Planning and Ideological Work. According to the Materials of the All-Union Scientific Practical Conference in Leningrad. 30 September-2 October 1975], Moscow, 1976; "Kompleksnyy podkhod v ideologicheskoy rabote. Stil', metody. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii v Rostove-na-Donu (avgust 1975) [A Composite Approach in Ideological Work. Style and Methods. According to the Materials of the All-Union Scientific Practical Conference in Rostov-na-Donu (August 1975)], Moscow, 1976; M. F. Nenashev, "Ratsional'naya organizatsiya ideologicheskoy raboty" [The Rational Organization of Ideological Work], Moscow 1976; V. G. Baykova, "Ideologicheskaya rabota KPSS v usloviyakh razvitogo sotsializma" [The Ideological Work of the CPSU Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism, Moscow, 1977; "Problemy kompleksnogo osushchestvleniya zadach kommunisticheskogo vospitaniya v svete resheniy XXV s"yezda KPSS. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno prakticheskoy konferentsii v g. Moskve (1977 g.)" [Problems in the Complete Carrying Out of Communist Indoctrination Tasks in Light of the 25th CPSU Congress. According to the Materials of the All-Union Scientific Practical Conference in the city of Moscow (1977)], Moscow 1978; V. G. Zakharov, "Planirovaniye ideologicheskoy raboty" [Planning Ideological Work], Moscow, 1980; etc.

11. Cf. "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty. Opyt planirovaniya v trudovykh, uchebnykh kollektivakh i sredi naseleniya Kirovskogo rayona g. Sverdlovsk na 1976-1980 gg." [A Combined Ideological Work Plan. Planning Experience in the Work and Training Collectives and Among the Population of Kirovskiy Rayon in the city of Sverdlovsk During 1976-1980], Sverdlovsk, 1976, pp 9-43; "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov ekonomicheskogo i sotsial'nogo razvitiya proizvodstvennykh kollektivov)" [Communist Indoctrination. (Instructional Methods Recommendations for the Economic and Social Development Plans of Production Collectives)], leader of the authors' collective -- Zh. T. Toshchenko, Krasnoyarsk, 1978, pp 32-37 et al.
12. Cf. "Materialy..." op. cit., p 57.
13. Cf. "Voprosy internatsional'nogo vospitaniya trudyashchikhsya. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii v Tbilisi (1976 g.)" [Questions Concerning the International Indoctrination of the Workers Based on the Materials of the All-Union Scientific Practical Conference in Tbilisi (1976)], Moscow, 1977; "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty... op. cit., pp 20-33; "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo razvitiya proizvodstvennykh kollektivov) [Communist Indoctrination. Instructional Methods Recommendations for the Social Development Plans of Production Collectives], Editorial Board: P. K. Luchinskiy, V. F. Pravotorov and Zh. T. Toshchenko, Moscow, 1981, pp 35-39 et al.
14. Cf. "O dal'neyshchem uluchshenii..." op. cit., p 9.
15. Cf. "Kommunisticheskoye Vospitaniye. Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo razvitiya..." op. cit., pp 82-86 et al.
16. Cf. "Yesli ob''yedinit' usiliya. Iz opyta Orskoy gorodskoy partiynoy organizatsii po osushchestvleniyu kompleksnogo resheniya ideyno'vospitatel'nykh zadach" [If Efforts Are Combined. From the Experiences of the Orskaya City Party Organization in Implementing the Composite Solutions for Ideological and Indoctrinational Tasks], Moscow, 1977; "Ideyno-vospitatel'naya rabota pervichnoy partiynoy organizatsii" [The Ideological and Indoctrinational Work of a Primary Organization], Moscow, 1979, pp 34-47, 113-122, and 178-189; A. A. Kirilina and N. Ya. Suslov, "Kompleksno, vsestoronne... v zhizn' resheniy XXV s''yezda KPSS" [Implement the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress Completely and Thoroughly], Leningrad 1980; etc.
17. Cf. "Materialy XXV s''yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 77.
18. Cf. E. M. Kafarova, "Nravstvennoye vospitaniye trudyashchikhsya -- vazhneysheye napravleniye ideologicheskoy deyatel'nosti partii" [The Moral Indoctrination of the Workers Is a Very Important Avenue in the Party's Ideological Activity], Baku, 1978; I. D. Trotsenko, "Vospitaniye i upravleniye. Koordinatsiya ideologicheskoy raboty" [Indoctrination and Control. The Coordination of Ideological Work], Moscow, 1978; "Ideyno-vospitatel'naya rabota pervichnoy... op. cit., pp 47-63 and 178-189; "Formirovaniye aktivnoy zhiznennoy pozitsii: opyt i aktual'nyye

problemy npravstvennogo vospitaniya. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii (Baku, 1979)" [The Formation of an Active Vital Position: Experiences and Urgent Problems in Moral Indoctrination. Based on the Materials of an All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference (Baku, 1979)], Moscow, 1979; T. A. Pilkova, "In Order for Moral Principles to Become a Standard of Conduct" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod. Iz opyta raboty rayonnykh partorganizatsiy Moskvy po kommunisticheskomu vospitaniyu trudyashchikhsya" [A Composite Approach to Indoctrination. From the Work Experience of Moscow's Rayon Party Organizations in the Communist Indoctrination of the Workers], Moscow 1980 p 54; T. P. Arkhipova and V. F. Sbytov, "Voprosy teorii i praktiki politicheskogo rukovodstva. Opyt deyatel'nosti raykoma partii" [Questions in the Theory and Practice of Political Leadership. Experiences From the activity of a Party Raykom], Moscow 1981, pp 213-252 et al.

19. Cf. M. S. Rybak, "Voprosy pravovogo vospitaniya. Iz opyta raboty partiynykh, sovetских, profsoyuznykh, komsomol'skikh organizatsiy Saratovskoy obl." [Questions on Legal Indoctrination. From the Work Experiences of the Party, Soviet, Trade Union, and Komsomol Organizations of Saratovskaya Oblast], Saratov, 1975; "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty" [A Composite Ideological Work Plan], Sverdlovsk, 1979, pp 52-54; Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo razvitiya..." op. cit., pp 62-66 et al.

20. Cf. "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS..." op. cit., pp 309-310.

21. Cf. "Konstitutsiya obshchenarodnogo gosudarstva" [The Constitution of a State of All the People], Moscow, 1978, p 123.

22. Cf. "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty..." op. cit., pp 31-34; "Kompleksnyy podkhod k nauchno-atiesticheskomu vospitaniyu" [A Composite Approach to Scientific Atheism Indoctrination], Moscow, 1979; etc.

23. Cf. "Iskusstvo i ideologicheskaya rabota partii" [Art and the Party's Ideological Work] Moscow, 1976; B. M. Sapulov and V. A. Remizov, "Esteticheskoye vospitaniye i formirovaniye novogo cheloveka" [Esthetic Indoctrination and the Formation of a New Individual], Moscow, 1978; "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty..." op. cit., pp 54-58 et al.

24. Cf. "Puti sovershenstvovaniya upravleniya fizicheskoy kul'turoy i sportom v svete resheniy XXV s'ezda KPSS. Sbornik tezisov nauchno prakticheskoy konferentsiy" [Ways To Improve the Direction of Physical Training and Sports in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. A Collection of Theses From a Scientific-Practical Conference], Ufa, 1977; "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov ekonomicheskogo...)" op.cit., pp 67-73; "Massovaya Fizicheskaya kul'tura i sport -- vazhneyshiye sredstva formirovaniya aktivnoy zhiznennoy pozitsii sovetских lyudey. Po materialam Vsesoyuznoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii v Baku (1979)" [Mass Physical Training and Sports Are Very Important Means To Form the Active Vital Position of the Soviet People. Based on the Materials of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference in Baku (1979)], Moscow, 1979; etc.



25. Cf. "Ob okhrane okruzhayushey sredy. Sbornik dokumentov partii i pravitel'stva" [On Protecting the Environment. A Collection of Party and Government Documents], Moscow, 1979; "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo...)", op. cit., pp 73-75 et al.
26. Cf. "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov ekonomicheskogo...)", op. cit., pp 27-32 and 189.
27. Cf. for example, Arkhina and Sbytov, op. cit., pp 173-176.
28. K. U. Chernenko, "The Vanguard Role of the Party of the Communists. An Important Condition for Its Growth. The Unity of Ideological and Organizational Work", KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1982, p 39.
29. Cf. "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty..." op. cit., pp 201-202; L. N. Dobrokhotoy, "Toward a Common Goal" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., pp 66-70; V. Safronova, "Povyshat' effektivnost' ideologicheskoy raboty" [Increasing the Effectiveness of Ideological Work], Moscow, 1980, pp 101-103 et al.
30. Cf. Ye. P. Ionov, "In Constant Search" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., pp 44-45.
31. Cf. Z. M. Kabanyuk, "Improving the Work With Ideological Cadre" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., p 28; "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov ekonomicheskogo...)", op. cit., pp 83-91; "Kompleksnyy plan ideologicheskoy raboty..." op. cit., pp 87-90 et al.
32. Cf. "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo...)", op. cit., pp 86-94.
33. V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1978, p 178.
34. Cf. "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye. (Metodicheskiye rekomendatsii dlya planov sotsial'nogo...)", op. cit., pp 94-101.
35. Cf. Arkhipova and Sbytov, op. cit., p 268.
36. Cf. V. F. Matveyev, "An Important Condition for Raising the Effectiveness of the Workers' Communist Indoctrination" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., pp 60-65.
37. Cf. "Luchshiy opyt -- v praktiku partiynoy raboty" [The Best Experience in Party Work Practices], Moscow, 1980, pp 3,4,27 et al.
38. Cf. Ye. S. Averin, "Calculating on the Long-Term Future" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., p 4; S. I. Belova, "Unremitting Attention on Ideological Work Planning" in "Vospitaniyu -- kompleksnyy podkhod..." op. cit., p 24 et al.

39. Chernenko, op. cit., p. 35.

40. Cf. M. F. Nenashev, "Effektivnost' ideyno vospitatel'noy raboty. Nekotoryye problemy i puti resheniya" [The Effectiveness of Ideological and Indoctrinational Work. Several Problems and Ways To Solve Them], Moscow, 1974; P. V. Pozdnyakov, "Effektivnost' kommunisticheskoy propagandy" [The Effectiveness of Communist Propaganda], Moscow, 1975; V. Ya. Morgunov, "From the Experiences of Party Organizations in Raising the Effectiveness of the Training of the Communist Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism", VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 12, 1981 et al.

41. Cf. P. V. Pozdnyakov and A. I. Yakovlev, "The Effectiveness of the Party's Ideological Work Under Modern Conditions (Several Instructional Methods Aspects)", VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1981.

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## NATIONAL

### QUESTIONS AT PUBLIC LECTURES STUDIED AS FORM OF PUBLIC OPINION

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[Article by G. Sillaste, lecturer, department of propaganda and agitation, Central Committee of the Estonian CP: "What Do Questions Reveal?" ; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "Can drunkenness be eradicated?" "Why are drunkards and parasites treated with kid gloves?" "What are the roots of consumerism in our society?" "Why are children protected against physical labor?" "Do all young people need secondary education?".... These are but a few of the more than 16,000 questions asked of party-committee lecturers and speakers in various auditoriums of the republic during 1981.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan period the Estonian CP Central Committee and the party city and rayon committees considered and analyzed nearly 60,000 questions. This is an impressive figure and yet another proof that lectures serve not only as an important form of propaganda but also as a reliable feedback channel and a source of a wealth of information contained in the questions asked by the audience. Analysis of these questions reveals to us the range of interests of the audiences and their attitude toward various events and phenomena of public life, as well as the extent of their understanding of the party's policy and, along with the information provided by primary party organizations, "assists in considering public opinion and providing a more detailed picture of the local situation," as pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress. And indeed it can be stated without exaggerating that, when recorded and generalized, these questions reflect public opinion very accurately, and that the significance of the conclusions inferred from them as regards information and propaganda work is difficult to overestimate.

Thus, questions asked by members of audiences are /a form of expressing public opinion/ [printed in boldface]. In scientific literature, public opinion is defined as a specific form of existence of mass consciousness that includes particular (covert or overt) attitudes toward public events and the activities of various groups, organizations, and individuals. It expresses approval or condemnation of various social problems, regulates the behavior of individuals, social groups, and institutions, imposes specific norms of social relations, and operates within the framework of both society as a whole and particular classes and social groups.

Public opinion, which expresses the attitude of people toward the social reality, by the same token actively influences the formulation and adoption of political,

ideological, and other decisions and serves as a motive power of social development. As an important factor in the scientific management of society, public opinion is utilized by our party to accomplish tasks of communist construction and combatting negative phenomena. In the words of A. Makarenko, public opinion becomes a completely material and tangible factor in education.

The following principal functions of public opinion are distinguished: /social, regulatory-educational, informational, and criterions of effectiveness of ideological work/ [printed in boldface]. Judgments, proposals, and questions, especially those voiced repeatedly among large audiences, represent to some extent indicators of the state of public opinion and the maturity of social consciousness. Their subject matter are primarily facts, events, occurrences, and processes which are of interest to society and prompt exchange of opinions and creative discussion.

Public opinion is formed not only by major and lengthy processes and events occurring in society but also by so-called unique events and processes, particularly if these affect the interests of the broad community. As a rule, however, public opinion is chiefly concerned with major events and party and government decisions that remain topical over a lengthy period of time. For example, after comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in his speech at the October (1980) Plenum of the CC CPSU, announced the Politburo's decision to draft the Food Program, the questions asked at lectures on the party's economic policy, the socialist way of life, and the like, began often to refer to such topics as: "What is the Food Program?" "What is its nature?" "When will it be adopted?"

Prior to the 26th CPSU Congress, lecturers could not, for objective reasons, satisfy the curiosity of the audiences. The press, too, did not provide sufficient information. Profound analysis of the objectives and content of the food program at the 26th CPSU Congress, the drafting of republic food programs, the preparation of information and reference materials at the Estonian CP Central Committee and their distribution to the party aktiv, and the series of problem-oriented articles in the republic press assisted in shaping a positive public opinion toward the long-range food program.

Public opinion is analyzed not only by means of sociological studies or, in other words, public opinion polls, but also by means of such channels, utilized in the practice of party work, as: 1) documents, messages, and reports of party and Komsomol organizations; 2) letters and declarations of working people to party, Soviet, and Komsomol agencies as well as to the mass media; 3) questions asked of lecturers, speakers, political information specialists, and agitators (provided that they are recorded on paper); 4) encounters between higher-level administrators and working people; 5) proposals and suggestions made by auditors at any level within the party and economic systems of education.

The principal difficulty in analyzing public opinion is not so much the shortage of material as insufficient knowledge of methods of assessing data received via diverse channels. If we consider in addition the lack of coordination among the various organizations analyzing, or attempting to analyze, public opinion, the need for circumspect coordination of this work by the party becomes obvious. A comprehensive analysis of public opinion and the party's influence on the formation of that opinion are the premises for the practical solution of many problems.

Public opinion demands an increasing amount of new data. Hence, information is not only a means of forming that opinion but also a prerequisite for its existence and development.

/In the process of the formation of public opinion, three fundamental problems are solved by lectural propaganda, along with other means of ideological influencing/ [printed in boldface]. First, that propaganda strengthens the already evolved public opinion objectively assessing some or other events or problems of social life. Second, it contributes to shaping public opinion as regards questions on which that opinion has not yet been formed. This entails the conduct of special propaganda drives along with other means of information but upon employing the methods specific in lectural propaganda alone. For example, lectures are used to answer questions which have not been sufficiently elucidated in radio and TV broadcasts, newspapers, etc.

And lastly, it has to be considered that in the socialist society there exist individuals who adhere to erroneous opinions concerning particular aspects of social life, have religious views, or follow customs, morals, fashions, and the like, that are outmoded or even borrowed from an environment alien to us. Hence ensues the third problem of lectural propaganda--that of altering opinions and views which conflict with the moral-ethical norms of the socialist society.

In the course of lectures, two interrelated tasks--informational and evaluative--are accomplished. A lecturer not only provides information on a given topic but also evaluates from principled standpoints particular events, occurrences, and facts, on proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theory and basing himself on the authority of the previously expressed--in one way or another--public opinion.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "We Marxists should exert every effort to analyze scientifically the facts underlying our policies."\* One way of solving this problem is an analysis of the questions asked of party-committee lecturers. We shall attempt to determine the manner in which, on the basis of that analysis, public opinion on current issues becomes revealed.

On normal contact with the audience, the lecturer always obtains a sufficiently objective and complete idea of the needs, moods, and wishes of people. Inasmuch as a questioner usually remains anonymous, he feels at ease among the audience, especially if the lecturer can answer his question competently. The very fact that some questions are asked again and again serves without fail to identify the issues of special concern to people at a given time.

As shown by experience gained in analyzing questions of the audiences, these questions should be classified /according to the scale of the problems touched upon, the frequency with which a particular question is asked, and the thematic orientation of the questions/ [printed in boldface].

In terms of /scale/ the questions asked are divided into local and general political questions. Of the questions asked in 1981, 43 percent concerned problems of a local nature. Most of these were assessed at city and rayon party committees, which also monitored the elimination of the shortcomings revealed by these questions.

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 34, p 109.

It is worth noting that the proportions of questions of a local nature has been steadily increasing. In some cities and rayons they accounted for 72 to 90 percent of all the questions asked during the fourth quarter of 1981. The Pyarnu City Party Committee and the Valgaskiy, Pylvaskiy, and Paydeskiy rayon party committees should analyze the reasons for this growing trend and identify the issues most often reflected in the questions.

Of the questions asked of party-committee lecturers in 1981, 57 percent concerned issues of a /general political nature/. Of these, in turn, 72 percent dealt with our domestic policies, and 28 percent, with foreign policies and the international situation. The republic's population retains an overriding interest in the domestic issues of the country. In 1981 a rise in interest in domestic political problems was also observed among youth audiences in the republic--audiences which previously used to be primarily concerned with the international situation. Clearly, no far-reaching conclusions should be at once inferred from this fact, but the change in the interests of the youth definitely deserves serious consideration and assessment.

Thus, the population displays growing interest in domestic issues within the republic which, of course, requires of every party committee a thorough analysis of the situation on various sectors and measures to operatively resolve the questions raised. At the same time it would be necessary to improve the coordination of the activities of local offices and broaden publicity about the elimination of shortcomings as well as inform collectives about what has been done to resolve the questions they raised.

In terms of /their frequency, the questions asked are divided into/ frequently asked questions, repeatedly asked questions, and infrequent ("signaling") questions. In analyses of public opinion, of special importance are occasionally asked questions, since it is precisely they that reflect evolved and functioning public opinion. The frequently asked questions, as well as the infrequent "signaling" ones, are characteristic of the initial stage of an evolving public opinion. The "signaling" questions most often express a critical attitude toward some shortcomings in work collectives or cities and rayons. In analyses of these questions it is always useful to consider the actual situation. Along with the frequently asked questions, the "signaling" questions point to the appearance of rumors, and serve to identify the origins of these rumors, which is extremely important to consider in the management of ideological work.

A wealth of information about the formation of public opinion is provided by analyses of the distribution of the audiences' concerns by individual /thematic orientations/. Of the questions asked in 1981 concerning domestic political issues, 66 percent dealt with specific economic aspects and policies; 17 percent, with the social program; and 16 percent, with problems of ideological work and communist upbringing.

The questions asked about /economics/ (and in 1981 a total of 4,420 such questions was asked--over 400 more than in the preceding year), reveal that working people are interested in the state of trade and consumer services, capital construction,

transport, communications, and agriculture. The questions reflect concern about such phenomena as the unbalanced state of the plans of individual enterprises, shortcomings in the organization of production and labor, low quality of production, poor plan discipline. Lively interest is shown in the development prospects of the republic's agroindustrial complex.

The problem of prices has been repeatedly raised, and in a number of cases the pertinent questions asked have been of a nature that clearly reflected rumors about a supposed increase in the prices of foodstuffs and other staple consumer goods. The spread of this disinformation was reflected in the volume of sales of certain types of merchandise at stores in July and August of last year. As known, these rumors were refuted in September 1981 by the announcement of the State Committee for Prices that the retail prices of staple foodstuffs and consumer goods will remain unchanged.

As of 1979 the number of questions concerning the /party's social program/ has been steadily rising. Considerable interest is shown in measures to improve national welfare. The questions most often deal with social security, public health, culture, sports, and wage controls. The number of questions with regard to housing has markedly diminished, though they still are being asked, especially by workers in the non-production sphere.

Last year, questions asked about /ideological work and communist upbringing/ were fewer than in 1981. Nearly one-third of the 1,060 questions asked in this respect dealt with problems of legal education. Working people are primarily interested in the measures intended to strengthen the struggle against such antisocial manifestations as drunkenness, parasitism, speculation, and bribe-taking. The questions asked and suggestions made reflect the desire that speculation in scarce goods be resolutely stopped. The audiences repeatedly ask lecturers whether our society is not too humane in its treatment of antisocial elements, violators of social and labor discipline? Are the sales of alcoholic beverages going to be curtailed still further? It appears that jurists are right in stating that the problem at present is not so much to issue tougher laws as to enforce them to the hilt at all levels.

A marked increase has been observed in the number of questions asked about /internationalist education and nationality attitudes/. As late as 3 years ago questions of this kind were of an infrequent, "signaling" nature. But in 1981 they began to be repeatedly asked by various types of audiences. Many suggestions have been made to improve the system of Estonian-language education, inclusive of the establishment of on-the-job study groups and the mastering of colloquial speech as part of language instruction in schools. Meeting the wishes of the working people, Estonian television has introduced last fall a special instructional program for those desiring to learn the Estonian language.

The exacerbation of /ideological struggle/ has been reflected in the growth of questions asked on this topic: thus while in 1980 a total of 180 such questions was asked, in 1981 there were more than 280. In the main, these questions are tied to events of the day: they change rapidly, reflecting the changing circumstances that affect public opinion, such as international incidents, the growing complexity of the world situation, the exacerbation of the ideological situation, etc. The

scope and nature of the questions asked concerning the ideological struggle serve to some extent to determine the degree of the influence and spread of disinformation by imperialist special services and propaganda centers.

The foregoing should clearly be considered in assessing the problems of ideological struggle in lectures for student youth. Studies show that most upperclassmen ask their peers rather than their parents and teachers to explain the foreign information they receive. At the same time, certain lecturers are reluctant to address students, regarding them as audiences that are too restless and bothersome. Party-committee speakers, too, rarely address the youth. The potential of the unified Political Day activities is inadequately exploited for indoctrinating the youth. As for those lecturers who do address school audiences, they do not always analyze the topic in a sufficiently explicit and well-argued manner. Much could be done by the lecturer teams of Komsomol committees to strengthen lectural propaganda in schools.

The familiarity of audiences with /problems of foreign policy and international relations/ is markedly inferior to their familiarity with domestic political issues. This is quite natural. Practice confirms that during major socio-political events in the life of our country, popular interest rapidly shifts in the direction of domestic policies. Apparently it is this that explains why the number of questions asked about foreign policy and international relations dropped to 28 percent (compared with 34 percent in 1980).

What aspects of international life interest the audiences most? Last year 45 percent of the questions (a much higher proportion than in 1980) dealt with the state and development prospects of the world socialism system. The number of questions asked about security and cooperation in Europe also increased, which was chiefly linked to the events in the Polish People's Republic. The nature of the questions asked in the second half of December 1981 reflected unanimous approval of the measures taken by the Polish party and state agencies to stabilize the situation in that country.

Thus, what does the analysis of the questions reveal? For what ends can the findings be used?

The examples given above are only drops in the sea of the questions analyzed at the Central Committee of the Estonian CP. It is important for every lecturer and speaker to be familiar with the concerns of the audiences and be ready to explain the current situation in a party-minded, well-argued, and clear manner, and help people to perceive and understand things that may otherwise seem insufficiently clear and explicit.

Analysis of the questions may be utilized for: 1) improved briefing of lecturers on the purposes behind the presence of the heads of branch departments of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP, as well as of ministries and departments, at the seminars-conferences of lecturers organized by the Central Committee, at which these heads offer explanations of the most often raised questions and describe what has been done to eliminate the shortcomings revealed by the questions; 2) improvements in methodological assistance to the lecturers and ideological aktiv; 3) drafting of recommendations on topics raised in the press, television, and radio; 4) im-



provements in the coordination of the activities of various institutions and departments participating in the organization of lectural propaganda; 5) strengthening of on-the-spot counter-propaganda and dissemination activities.

This list does not, of course, exhaust the manifold possibilities for utilizing the findings of the analyses of the questions. These findings could be, for example, utilized much more broadly by the mass media.

Sometimes lecturers wonder why should a question be recorded on punched tape considering that it has already been answered. Of course, it is the primary duty of every lecturer to answer a question in as well-argued a manner as possible. Nevertheless, it is useful to record all the questions asked. When gathered together, they represent a kind of catalog of the interests and needs of the audiences. Thereupon it is expedient to isolate the repeatedly asked questions and record them on discrete cards together with substantiated answers. The whole will represent the lecturer's personal information and reference manual.

Moreover, questions asked by the audiences serve as a distinctive indicator of the quality of lecturers and indicate any possible omissions by the lecturer. The next time that a lecturer is about to address a similar audience, he may consult his catalog, add something to it, and delete something.

The analysis of the questions asked of party-committee lecturers and speakers is hardly an end in itself; it is rather a means of analyzing public opinion, improving the management of ideological and political-educational work, and, in the final analysis, strengthening the educational effect of the decisions taken. The systematic study of public opinion by this method represents an important instrument for the scientific management of economic, social, and intellectual processes in the Soviet society in order to--as taught by V. I. Lenin--"know how to infallibly detect from any question, at any moment, the moods of the mass and its actual needs, strivings, and thoughts...."\*

\*

In our republic some 150,000 lectures are presented each year, and they are attended by 6 million people. The analysis of their opinions, views, needs, suggestions, doubts, and wishes, so often reflected in the questions asked of party-committee lecturers and speakers, is an important requirement for improving the entire ideological-educational work of party organizations.

\*V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 44, p 348.

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## NATIONAL

### JOURNALIST SCORED FOR UNCRITICAL CITATION OF CHRISTIAN HOLIDAYS

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 7, Jul 82 (signed to press 9 Jun 82) p 23

[Letter from teacher G. Filist, from Brest: "The Church 'Phenologist'"]

[Text] While on vacation in the Crimea I stayed with two girls from Kaliningrad. On the evening of 14 August Irina exclaimed: "Today is a big holiday. I must observe the first day of the Assumption fast!" I was astonished. A girl with higher education a believer. It became clear in conversation that the girl did not believe in god and did not know to what this holiday is devoted or why the day is celebrated. Seeing my distrust she pulled from her purse a newspaper and gave it to me. There, see for yourself. What I had was a copy of KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA for 9 August 1981, and its contents included the "Notes of a Phenologist" by A. Kurkov. I asked Irina to give me the newspaper, but she said that she collects these notes. How the did A. Kurkov attract Irina to phenology?

The author will forgive me for stating the main parts of his article out of sequence, but I only saw his propositions in chronological order in accordance with the church calendar.

"On Mokrida's [saint] day (1 August) look for autumn; Mokrida is damp and autumn is damp."

"From Ilina's [saint] day on the nights are long and the water is cold (2 August). On Ilina's day the reindeer wets its hooves--no more swimming now."

"14 August. First fast day of the Assumption. From the first day of the Assumption the dew is cold. The first fast day is damp."

"15 August. Stepan's [saint] day. Haymaking".

"17 August. Avdoty's [saint] day. The hay starts to rot."

"19 August. Second day of the Assumption fast. On the second day of the Assumption fast store your stone loaches."

"On Mikheya's [saint] day (27 August), if the zephyrs blow the autumn will be fine."

"28 August. Assumption day, the third Assumption fast day" and so forth.

The extracts cited show that here we have nothing at all to do with phenology. The author makes no distinction between the folk element and the religious element, and he helps the faithful to believe that the hands of Il'ya, Mokrida, Stepan and Avdoty--saints, prophets and martyrs--are to be seen in changes in the weather. Phenology is a system of knowledge about natural phenomena, the times when they occur and the reasons determining these times. As is known, common people [narod] have linked phenological observations not with religion but with economic needs. But man lived for a long time according to the church calendar and calculated the seasonal changes from it. The experience of earlier generations has been studied and written about in contemporary literature. The growing interest in phenology in our days is also understandable. It has resulted from its practical value. Phenological data are used when compiling regional calendars for seasonal work and measures in rural activities, hunting and forestry.

Unfortunately, the "Notes of a Phenologist" in KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA are propagandizing not only phenology but also religious holidays.

I think that journalists on local newspapers should distinguish more clearly between the folk element and the religious element, and that they should not put into print articles that harm the atheistic education of the population without first consulting with specialists.

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NATIONAL

NEW EDITION OF DOCUMENTS ON PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK REVIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 82 pp 122-126

[Review by V. M. Shapko, doctor of historical sciences, and I. A. Shvets, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Voprosy organizatsionno-partiynoy raboty KPSS"

[Aspects of Party Organizational Work of the CPSU], a collection of documents edited by I. V. Kapitonov, Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 782 pages, under the rubric "Criticism and Bibliography--Reviews"]

[Text] Under advanced socialism, as emphasized by the 26th CPSU Congress, the party's role in the life of society is increasing. A major factor accounting for this legitimate process is that the CPSU constantly improves its party-organizational work and the forms and methods of its directing activity in accordance with objective needs. "Aspects of Party Organizational Work" has recently been republished in a third revised edition. It includes entirely or partially the decisions of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th CPSU congresses, the corresponding parts of speeches of comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered at these congresses, and the resolutions of the party Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo, and the CC CPSU Secretariat concerning party organizational questions. The book reprints documents adopted during 1964-1981.

In all its activities the CPSU proceeds from the premise that the period of advanced socialism also corresponds to a new stage in the development of the party itself. The principal features of this stage and the underlying processes and characteristic tendencies inherent in the life of our party at present are deeply and comprehensively revealed in the decisions of the recent party congresses and the reports delivered at them by comrade L. I. Brezhnev, as well as in the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The theses and conclusions they contain represent a major theoretical contribution to Lenin's doctrine on the party and serve as an unshakable foundation for further improvements in the organizational and political activities of the CPSU. The materials of this anthology provide a graphic idea of the manner how the fundamental approaches to aspects of party construction become particularized in the resolutions of the Central Committee and translated into reality in the practical everyday work of party organizations and their supervisory agencies.

Since the 23rd CPSU Congress a number of important documents has been adopted; these documents treat in depth the basic problems of intra-party life. They primarily reflect the party's concern for the purity, all-out strengthening, and

improvements in the qualitative composition of its membership, as well as for the development of creative activity and tightening of the discipline and responsibility of communists. The related problems are considered in depth in the resolutions of the CC CPSU "On Grave Shortcomings in the Performance of the Khar'kovskaya Oblast Party Organization as Regards Admission to the Party and Education of Young Communists" and "On the Performance of the Party Organizations of Kirghiziya as Regards Admission to the Party and the Education of Candidate Members of the CPSU." They provide specific indications as to the manner in which, at present, the selection of the rising generation for membership in the party should be performed, the growth of the party's ranks regulated, and the ideological-political toughening of communists intensified.

The documents reprinted in the anthology substantiate the principal aspects of the further development of intra-party democracy. A significant role here was played, in particular, by the resolution of the CC CPSU "On the Practice of Conducting Party Meetings by the Yaroslavl' City Party Organization." Adopted in 1969, this resolution remains meaningful to this very day and provides a good guidepost for the work of all party organizations.

Intra-party information is an inseparable element of democratic life in the party. Ways of improving it, utilizing it with the object of raising the level of party leadership and education and promoting the publicity of party work as well as strengthening the ties of the party with the masses, are indicated in the resolution of the CC CPSU "On the State of and Measures to Improve Party Political Information."

At the present stage in the life and activities of our party, criticism and self-criticism are being further developed. The growth of this positive tendency and the consolidation of the spirit of self-criticism and intolerance toward shortcomings within the party's ranks were assisted by the directives of the party congresses and the special CC CPSU resolution "On the State of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Tambovskaya Oblast Party Organization," which revealed the innermost nature of criticism and self-criticism. That nature consists in that all the aspects of the activity of a particular organization or a particular worker are objectively assessed, while shortcomings are analyzed with the object of eliminating them and not permitting a liberal treatment of those responsible for them. Even now this resolution still promotes a broad development of principled, comradely and more effective criticism.

Aspects of intra-party democracy, strengthening of party discipline, and, on this basis, broad activation of the work of party organizations and all communists, are broadly reflected in the CC CPSU resolutions, published in this anthology, regarding the commencement and results of the verification of party cards and the conduct of reportorial and electoral party meetings and conferences.

The unflagging attention which the Central Committee devotes to improving the activity of primary party organizations is also intended to enhance their role in implementing the party's policies and accomplishing varied problems of communist construction. In the years elapsed since the 23rd congress the CC CPSU considered reports submitted by many primary party organizations, industrial and construction enterprises, production associations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, ministries, research

institutions, and higher schools. The pertinent resolutions are reprinted in the anthology. These documents examine in depth various aspects of the work of primary party organizations and, on the basis of analysis and generalization of the accumulated experience, provide topical directives and recommendations promoting a purposive and active conduct of that work and the concentration of efforts on the solution of topical and most important problems.

The material published in the anthology convincingly demonstrates the attentive attitude of the Central Committee toward everything that is new, useful, and engendered by the creativity of the masses. The resolutions of the Central Committee support many valuable initiatives and patriotic undertakings of primary party organizations and work collectives. This ensures their broad dissemination, contributes to the further development of creative activity of the party organizations, communists, and all working people, and produces a substantial effect on the national economy.

The CC CPSU attaches great importance to enhancing the role of primary party organizations as the political core of work collectives and developing within them a healthy socio-psychological and moral climate. These aspects are, in one way or another, touched upon in every resolution dealing with the work of primary party organizations. But they receive the most concentrated and broadest attention in the CC CPSU resolutions "On the Performance of the Party Organization at the Minsk Tractor Plant In Intensifying the Production and Socio-Political Activity of the Work Collective," "On the Participation of Managers, Engineers, and Technicians of the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant in the Ideological-Political Upbringing of Members of the Collective," and "On the Performance of the Party Organization at the Production Association 'Turbomotor Plant' imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov (in Sverdlovsk) in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress."

The party strives to have the primary party organizations utilize their statutory right to supervise the activities of management more and more fully and better with the object of implementing the current tasks and intensifying its effect on the life and affairs of work collectives. Explicit directives on this matter were provided by comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the 26th CPSU Congress. This also is the subject of the CC CPSU resolution "On the Performance of Primary Party Organizations at Industrial Enterprises of Voronezh in Monitoring the Activities of the Management," which analyzes the nature of such monitoring and points out that, above all, it should be purposive.

The above resolution states: "The meaning and purpose of monitoring by primary party organizations consist in--without interfering with the operative-directing functions of the managers, and without supplanting them--increasing the responsibility of managers for the tasks entrusted to them, promptly uncovering and eliminating shortcomings, and always and in every respect protecting party-wide and national interests" (pp 334-335).

The special features of the work of party organizations at ministries, departments, and local Soviet and economic institutions in that direction were analyzed on using a specific example in the CC CPSU resolution "On the Monitoring Performed by the Party Committee at the USSR Ministry of Communications Over the Activities of the Apparatus Implementing the Directives of the Party and Government."

A major element in the system of the guidance of society by the party is the local party organs. The Central Committee incessantly attends to enhancing their role and responsibility and strives to make their activities most fully correspond to the needs of the times, so that they would exercise energetic and competent leadership. It is from this standpoint that the CC CPSU systematically examines various aspects of the activities of the central committees of the communist parties of the Union republics and the kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees. Resolutions concerning these problems occupy a large part of the anthology. These documents are entirely intended to prompt local party committees to approach creatively and flexibly the solution of economic and political problems and to persistently improve their organizational and educational work with the masses. They contain many important conclusions of party-wide significance.

This is distinctly reflected in the CC CPSU resolutions "On the Fulfillment by Georgia's Party Organization of the CC CPSU Resolution Concerning the Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi City Party Committee," "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Krasnodarskiy Kray Party Committee to Fulfill the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," "Report of the Turkmen CP CC on the Work to Fulfill the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," "On the Work of the Nizhnekamsk City CPSU Committee to Mobilize Enterprise Collectives for Increasing the Effectiveness of Production and Quality of Work in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," and many others.

The Central Committee attentively studies and generalizes the positive experience accumulated by local party organs, especially as regards management of the economy, and attempts to share it with the entire party and utilize it broadly in the interests of a broad intensification of the national economy. In this context, an important role has been played by, for example, such CC CPSU resolutions as "On the Experience of the Sverdlovsk Party Organization in Increasing Output Through the Modernization of Existing Enterprises at Minimal Capital Outlays," "On the Organizational and Political Activities of the Chelyabinskaya Oblast Party Committee in Promoting the Conservation of Ferrous Metals at the Oblast's Enterprises and Construction Sites in the Light of the Requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress," "On the Work of the Moscow Oblast Party Organization to Develop Socialist Competition at the Oblast's Light-Industry Enterprises for a High Effectiveness and Quality of Performance of the Collectives," "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Kemerovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee to Promote Conservation of Fuel and Energy Resources at the Oblast's Enterprises and Construction Sites," and "On the Experience of the Ipatovskiy Rayon Party Organization, Stavropol'skiy Kray, in Reaping the 1977 Harvest."

The party's cadre policy is a mighty lever with which the party influences the entire course of social development. In recent years party documents have been dealing with the basic principles of that policy, which, along with questions of the selection, deployment, and education of cadres, have been elaborated creatively and in depth as applied to the conditions of advanced socialism. This is convincingly demonstrated by the materials of the anthology which show the great and fundamental importance attached by the party and its Central Committee to that policy.

The principal aspects of the actual cadre policy at the present stage are revealed in the CC CPSU resolution "On the Work of the Estonian CP CC With Managerial Cadres," and "On the Work of the Udmurtskaya Oblast CPSU Committee on the Selection, Deployment, and Education of Managerial Cadres." They circumstantially analyze the practice of on-the-spot work with the cadres, which is instructive to all party and state agencies.

The Central Committee consistently analyzes the status of work with the cadres at all levels in various branches of economy and culture. In recent years it has evaluated the performance of: the Volgogradskaya Oblast party committee in selecting, deploying, and educating managerial cadres in industry; the Irkutskaya Oblast party committee, in increasing the role of engineers and technicians in the acceleration of technical progress at enterprises and on construction sites; the USSR Ministry of Construction, in handling its managerial, engineering, and technician personnel; the Altayskiy Kray party committee, in increasing the role of experts in the development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production; and the Vladimirskaia Oblast party committee, in working with the personnel of the trade and consumer services apparatus.

The party attaches great importance to strengthening quality and improving the performance of middle-level cadres, on whom the development and effectiveness of production largely depend. In this connection, the CC CPSU examined the manner in which party organizations and administrative agencies enhance the role of production foremen within the system of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and strengthen the composition of middle-level agricultural cadres in Rostovskaya Oblast.

The pertinent resolutions reprinted in the anthology focus the attention of party, Soviet, and administrative agencies, as well as of public organizations, on the proper selection and education of cadres in various categories on the basis of Leninist principles, with allowance for the specific features of their work and their place and role in production and socio-political life.

Currently problems of communist education and struggle against bourgeois ideology are becoming increasingly important. Therefore, the party endeavors to improve the activity of the ideological cadres and elevate the ideological-theory level of all managerial workers. Practical ways of accomplishing this are spelled out in the CC CPSU resolution "The Work to Select and Educate Ideological Cadres in Belorussia's Party Organization" and "On the Marxist-Leninist Training and Economic Education of Leading Cadres in the Tashkent City Party Organization."

The materials of the anthology reflect the party's unflagging concern for broadly improving the training of leading party cadres and state cadres. To this end, the CC CPSU resolution of 2 March 1978 established on the basis of the Higher Party School [VPSH], the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC CPSU [AON], and the Correspondence Higher Party School [ZVPSH], a new educational institution--the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU, which was charged with the task of acting as the leading training, research, and scientific-methodological center of the entire system for the training of party, Soviet, and ideological cadres. This was followed by measures to improve cadre training at republic and inter-oblast



VPSH's with the object of providing the workers attending party educational institutions with deep knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, mastery of methods of party leadership, and the art of working with people.

A red thread running through the party documents is the idea that all work with the cadres should be based on trusting and respecting them while at the same time being demanding toward them. These documents focus the attention of party and state agencies on constantly tightening the responsibility of the cadres to the party and the nation for the tasks entrusted and for increasing the effectiveness of their leadership.

This enhances the importance of the monitoring and verification of task implementation as an effective means of improving the organization and discipline of the cadres and educating them correctly. This cardinal problem of party construction has been extremely scientifically examined in its entire magnitude and specified in detail in the CC CPSU resolution "On Further Improvements in the Monitoring and Verification of Implementation in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress."

The resolution stresses that: "The monitoring and verification of implementation should be the most important component part of the everyday organizational work of any element of the party and state apparatus, of every party, Soviet, and economic manager, of all party organizations" (p 625).

The anthology offers a broad range of documents concerning the party's guidance of the soviets [of people's deputies] and other state and public organizations. These documents show how the party, as the core of the political system of the Soviet society, coordinates and directs the activities of all its elements in the interests of communist construction. These documents consolidate and elaborate the Leninist principles of the relationship between the party and the mass organizations of working people.

The party consistently follows the line of enhancing the role and importance of the soviets of people's deputies, broadening their competences. This line has been concretely embodied in the CC CPSU resolutions on the performance of the local soviets in Poltavskaya Oblast and on improving the performance of municipal, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets. The implementation of the measures envisaged in these resolutions has markedly contributed to the activization of the soviets at these levels and imbued their activities with a new vigor.

Out of its concern for developing the mechanism of the people's rule, the party devotes unflagging attention to improvements in the machinery of state. This goal is, in particular, pursued by the systematic discussion at the Central Committee of the performance of various ministries and departments, as demonstrated by the documents included in the anthology.

The party is concerned for enhancing the role of the trade unions as schools of management and communism. It strives to make trade union organizations utilize more and more fully the broad rights delegated to them with the object of developing social production, improving the working and living conditions of workers and

protecting their interests, and promoting socialist democracy. This is the goal of the directives of the party congresses and the recommendations contained in the CC CPSU resolutions "On the Work of Party Organizations in Permskaya Oblast to Direct the Trade Unions," and "On the Work of the Karagandinskaya Oblast Party Committee to Fulfill the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress Concerning the Party's Guidance of Trade Union Organizations and the Increase in Their Role in Economic and Cultural Construction." These documents are constantly consulted by both party and trade-union workers, who find them greatly useful to their practical activities.

In our times Lenin's Komsomol is becoming increasingly active in contributing to the accomplishment of the varied tasks of communist construction, as well as to the country's socio-political life. Constant guidance by the party and the recommendations and advice it provides imbue the work of Komsomol organizations with the necessary purposefulness and militancy and inspire the youth toward great causes. The principal directions of the long-range work of the Komsomol are spelled out in the CC CPSU resolutions "On the 50th Anniversary of the Komsomol and the Tasks of Communist Upbringing of the Youth," and "On the Guidance of the Komsomol by the Krasnoyarskiy Kray Party Organization."

Thanks to the attention paid by the party, [volunteer] people's inspections have become a major state and social force. The CPSU strives to make them increasingly active and effective. Party organizations are bound to promote this social institution in all ways by the CC CPSU resolution "On Measures to Further Improve the Work of the Agencies of People's Control and Strengthen Their Guidance by the Party in Connection With the Adoption of the Law of People's Control in the USSR." This resolution specifies that party organizations are obligated to regard the agencies of people's control as their immediate assistants in accomplishing the tasks posed (see p 748).

Thus, the documents published in the anthology explicitly confirm that the CPSU is the chief bearer of the principles of socialist democracy and the guarantee of its progressive development.

The practical and scientific value of the anthology reviewed here consists in that it represents a unified and systematized collection of the principal party documents which generalize the tremendously rich experience gained by the party in the field of organizational work. Such an anthology is equally needed by both party workers and researchers into the problems of the history of the CPSU and party construction. There is no doubt that it will become to them a handy reference manual.

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## NATIONAL

### GREATER ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUALS UNDER SOCIALISM URGED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 82 pp 193-195

[Article by N. Kozlova, candidate of philosophical sciences (Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences): "The Theory of Social Production"]

[Excerpts] An All-Union Coordinating Conference, devoted to the /socio-philosophical problems of the theory of social production/ [in italics], was held in December 1981 at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Participating along with philosophers in its work were economists and historians.

As was noted in the report by doctor of philosophical sciences, V. Tolstykh, who opened the conference, it is precisely the real social processes which have brought about a recognition of the insufficiency of reducing social production exclusively to the production of things and have stimulated the attention of Soviet social scientists to the problem of social production.\* Unfortunately, in the scientific and educational literature we have still not gotten rid of the tendency to identify social production with material production, which contradicts the understanding of social production by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. At the present time it is obvious that we must return its true meaning to the concept of social production. Without this it is impossible to provide scientific grounds for the wholeness of the very foundation of social vital activity, the unity of the material and spiritual principles in peoples' lives. The basic element in this unity consists of people's activity in producing the material, social, and spiritual conditions of their own existence; emerging, moreover, as the criterion of the social nature of production is a person's development as a social being. Thus, social production is one of the most important categories of historical materialistic teaching about society.

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\* The results of research studies on these problems have been summed up in the collective monograph of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "Dukhovnoye proizvodstvo. Sotsial'no-filosofskiy aspekt problemy dukhovnoy deyatel'nosti" [Spiritual Production: The Socio-Philosophical Aspect of the Problem of Spiritual Activity], Moscow, 1981. See also in the journal OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI (1981, No 5): V. Tolstykh, "Social Production and the Production of Consciousness"; L. Novikova, "Spiritual Production: Sources, Functions, Mechanisms."

Summing up the results of the discussion of one of the key problems of Marxist theory, the conference participants emphasized that whatever stage of human history was examined, the criterion of the progress of social production, as a whole as well as in any of its sectors and sub-divisions, emerges as the nature and degree of development of the individual as the subject of social production. The category of social production crystallizes the fundamental idea of the socio-philosophical theory of Marxism--the position on the objectively active nature of man and the practical nature of social life.

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## REGIONAL

### GEORGIAN MINISTER ON REORGANIZING RURAL CONSTRUCTION

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 May 82 p 2

["Interview with Georgian SSR Minister of Rural Construction Iosif Alekseyevich Kharatishvili by ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent: "The Industrial Panorama of the Countryside" under the rubric "The Fifth-Year Plan: The Second Year"]

[Excerpt] [Question] Iosif Alekseyevich, now that the results of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan have already been fully assessed, what is of special concern to you? On what basic tasks are you concentrating attention?

[Answer] Of course, a most important problem is that of restructuring the economic mechanism or, more exactly, completing the conversion of all subdivisions within the ministry's system to the new conditions of planning and economic stimulation. The need for this was stressed in the letter of the Georgian CP Central Committee to the communists and all working people of Soviet Georgia in connection with the 10th anniversary of the decree of the CC CPSU concerning the Tbilisi city party committee.

The reorganization encompasses all aspects of functioning of the construction complex. In practice, all the components of the economic mechanism in rural construction--planning, organizational forms of management, and material stimulation--are being renovated.

Of course, it is primarily necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks for the second year of the Five-Year Plan. Let me point out that in terms of the basic estimators of its performance, the republic's ministry of agricultural construction has been in recent years consistently among the leaders within the system of the USSR Ministry of Agricultural Construction. It is a matter of honor to all rural builders in Georgia to preserve this tradition.

This problem is becoming particularly topical at present.

Deplorably enough, it must be unfortunately stated that most subdivisions of our system have fallen behind during the first quarter of this year. That is why we did not become victors in the republic socialist competition. For the ministry as a whole the plan for the output of marketable construction products was fulfilled only 95 percent and the quantity plan, even less---92 percent. It is clear therefore that we should at present work with redoubled energy to rectify the situation and fulfill the tasks for the second quarter.

Year after year, the ministry's fixed productive assets are growing. Our most important task is to utilize them efficiently. Here we place the main emphasis on the latent potential which, it has to be plainly stated, still remains unexploited on many sectors of construction production.

We also are concerned about the quality of construction production. In this connection, the possibilities of systemic management of quality cannot be overestimated. Considerable experience has been gained in this respect. To improve the quality of construction production, it is necessary to learn how to forecast and manage it.

And further, as known, at present the management of agriculture is undergoing organizational-structural changes related to the formation of agro-industrial complexes. We rural builders also are directly linked to this process. Hence, the search for the most effective forms of partnership with the participants in agro-industrial integration is a most topical problem to us.

[Question] What specific measures being taken in your ministry may indicate that the conversion of production subdivisions to the new conditions of management has been occurring smoothly and efficiently?

[Answer] Let me begin with the main thing. Last year all construction subdivisions of our ministry converted to new estimators, inclusive of the estimator of marketable construction production. This indicator mirrors with precision the real value of construction and installation operations. It acts moreover as a stimulus, since it contributes to reducing the volume of uncompleted construction and shortening schedules of operations.

Remember the negative phenomena that used to be engendered by the practice of evaluating the performance of builders in terms of that odious expression, "gross" [gross output]. Reports based on that indicator resulted in that the allocated resources were utilized but there was no finished output. Builders tried to spend all of the allotted resources, because the percentage of plan fulfillment depended on it. Interest in expensive materials and structural elements appeared, and operations were divided into "advantageous" (foundations, walls, etc.) and "disadvantageous" (finishing operations). All this resulted in postponing the completion of construction projects and hobbling construction.

But now, when assessing the labor of rural builders, priority is given to such indicators as the activation of capacities and facilities. That is, finished production is the criterion.

At the same time, the system for clearing accounts with customers has also changed. We converted to crediting uncompleted construction until a project is fully completed and released for use.

[Question] This means that things are all going well?

[Answer] Far from all. We still encounter quite a few difficulties, problems, and shortcomings. Take for example the problem of responsibility for streamlining the construction flow chart that begins with the design stage and ends with final adjustments of technological equipment on industrial construction sites. Analysis

shows that there are differences in the degree of responsibility borne by the different organizations participating in construction. In practice, it is the subcontractor who is responsible for delays in completing a construction project, but often such delays occur owing to, e.g. delays in providing project-design documents and blueprints, delays in making land available for construction, delays in the delivery of equipment, and so forth. That is, actually builders fairly often cannot be blamed for the disruptions in schedules and yet have to pay for someone else's sins.

[Question] The collegium of the ministry and you personally are taking a large number of decisions. Many of them are of decisive importance to the successful performance of the entire system. What form of monitoring their implementation do you use?

[Answer] Indeed, we are taking many decisions. Especially at present. For restructuring means breaking with old outmoded forms of work and introducing new ones. Naturally, under these conditions, monitoring the implementation of decisions has become more complicated. This while several years ago the service established for this purpose--a special inspectorate--had coped with this task, now this agency clearly lacks the capability for tracing the implementation of all decisions. Hence we have activated a computer center and an associated system for monitoring the implementation of the decisions adopted. The system has a fairly simple structure and it clearly defines the sphere of activity of each of its components.

[Question] At the 4th Plenum of the Georgian CP Central Committee it was pointed out that many administrative agencies, including the Ministry of Agricultural Construction, have not coped with the tasks of increasing labor productivity. It also was found that certain of your organizations utilize lumber and cement inefficiently. Was not it perhaps through the fault of that monitoring system which you mentioned a moment ago? For if it had issued prompt warnings about the situation, you would probably have responded rapidly and prevented the worsening of the indicators.

[Answer] To some extent, yes. Relaxed supervision inevitably entails a decrease in responsibility. This is a law. Hence also the slowdown in the growth rate of labor productivity. Although labor productivity within our ministry was 101.3 percent compared with 100 percent in 1980, we underfulfilled the task for this indicator by 3.5 percent.

Unfortunately, the utilization of certain types of materials within our ministry also leaves something to be desired. Certain inefficient managers permit their organizations to consume excessive quantities of lumber and do not utilize rationally cement and other valuable materials. The conclusion is the same: again control has been relaxed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to point out that by now we already have investigated this situation in all the subdivisions of the ministry and are launching a sweeping offensive against poor management and squandering of national wealth.

The main burden of this work is shouldered by the ministry's control and auditing administration. Its employees are verifying the utilization of material, technical,



and fuel resources successively in each of the system's production collectives. The findings of the inspections are being discussed by the ministry's collegium.

Moreover, attached to the Gruzsel'stroyskomplekt" [Georgian Trust for Complete Sets of Agricultural Construction Components] is a department which verifies the storage and utilization of building materials. Recently we established a departmental commission for the conservation and rational utilization of material resources. It is a directing and coordinating agency.

The comprehensive "Resurs" [Resources] program has been developed and already is in operation. Its purpose is to fulfill the tasks as to the conservation of the basic building materials and fuel and energy resources.

The ministry's overall plan for 1981-1985 envisages the restructuring of management, and especially the unification of the supply administrations with the combines of industrial enterprises in all the trusts of the system. In addition to the savings in wage funds that this will yield, this measure is a means of concentrating at a single center the accounting of the reception and expenditures of building materials, and streamlining the operative distribution and shipments of prefabricated building materials to construction sites, that is, intensifying the system of monitoring the consumption of materials.

We also expect a solid economic effect from the introduction of high-reliability, failure-free, and energy-saving technologies. This year we are continuing the application of these progressive technologies. We expect to utilize wastes of lumber, reinforcement, basalt, marble, and glass in order to manufacture various products in broad demand. We plan to utilize the condensate forming in the drying kilns of reinforced-concrete products plants. And we plan to recover and reuse spent oils and fluids at mechanization bases.

The losses during the transportation and storage of materials remain extremely tangible. But they too will be markedly reduced once the storage of bulk materials in packaged form is mastered, along with containerized shipments of freight.

So, as you can see, steps have been taken. We shall do all in our power to carry out the highly important economic and political task being now posed to the nation by the party--the task of, as emphasized in his speech at the 19th Komsomol Congress by comrade L. I. Brezhnev, a most meticulous conservation of every resource.

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## REGIONAL

### LATVIAN PAPER VIEWS ABASHA RAPO EXPERIMENT

#### Abasha's Decline Reversed

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 25 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by N. Rostislavskiy, special correspondent of Sovetskaya Latviya, Riga-Tbilisi-Abasha-Riga: "Talsi and Abasha" under the rubric "The Food Program as a National Cause"]

[Text] In his speech at the May (1982) Plenum of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "The experience gained by agro-industrial associations in certain rayons of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, and Estonia shows that this is a correct and promising step."

The first such association in our country was established in 1974 in the Abashskiy Rayon of the Georgian SSR. Two years ago the rayon agroindustrial association [RAPO] was established in the Talsinskiy Rayon of Latvia. In March of this year the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the measures taken in those rayons to improve the management of agricultural production and correspondingly enhance the role of the rayon-level authorities of the state.

Recently the SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA correspondent N. Rostislavskiy was assigned by the Editors to visit Georgia's Abashskiy Rayon in order to investigate the experience gained in this new style of work, the results of the experiment to establish a new model of rural management, and to familiarize himself with the work of communists under RAPO conditions. In the implementation of the measures associated with the USSR Food Program in our republic, this experience will undoubtedly serve as a good example of the successful solution of many complex problems in the countryside.

In this issue we are starting to publish materials on the Abasha experiment.

#### 1. A Little History

From Tbilisi to Abasha there are 270 km to the west. The train advances cautiously along the left bank of the Kura whose waters flow into the Caspian Sea. As you glance from the coach window at the river, and at the mountains girding it from both sides, you unwittingly recall the lines from Lermontov's poem "Mtsyri":

Where they confluence, rumbling,  
Embracing one another, as it were, like two sisters,  
The waters of the Aragva and the Kura....

En route to Abasha there are many ruins of ancient castles. Like swallows' nests, they perch on cliffs and mountaintops. They had been demolished by the enemies of the Georgian nation--rains and winds--but they survive even now, like messengers from distant centuries.

My neighbor in the compartment, Murad Khvedelidze, the chief energy expert at a cotton spinning factory in Samtredia, is an expert in Georgian history. Although he had traveled on duty to Tbilisi, and although he feels sleepy, he is attentive to the guest: such is the custom in Georgia. He tells me as if reading from a book, about all the monuments to the past which we view from the train window:

"The towers of these castles acted as sentinels. The appearance of smoke over a tower meant that the foe was noticed. Then bonfires would be started on the towers of the successive castles, thus alerting the nation about the danger."

The eight hours of the trip flitted past in the interesting conversation and we arrived in Abasha. I heard and read much about it. The Abasha experiment, the "Abasha Miracle," has been written about in newspapers and periodicals. But how interesting it was to witness it personally.

Abasha displayed a striking neatness and straightness of its streets as well as a cozy atmosphere. It is situated in the center of the Plain of Colchis, on land as level as the surface of a table. Its main thoroughfare, Lenin Street, is a feast for the eyes: straight as an arrow, flanked by evergreen palms interspersed by lampposts that in the evenings and at night glow in various colors. The well-maintained courtyards, the smooth sidewalks and roadways, the new facades on buildings, the lawns, flowerbeds, and flower gardens all testify to the neatness and care of the city fathers.

The denizens of Abasha lead good and comfortable lives. This can be seen from their contented faces, clothing, courtyards, two-story houses with verandas, majestic staircases, and many other details encountered at every step.

To understand what had happened, let me cite a few lines from the book "Chto pro-izoshlo v Abashe" [What Happened in Abasha] by the Georgian writer Konstantin Lordkipanidze: "The rayon seat Samtredia consists of houses roofed with iron or red tile, broad neat streets planted with fruit trees, and lovely courtyards.... But once you reach the Tskhenis-Tskali and cross the river, the scenery becomes an eyesore and you behold dilapidated and slanting huts roofed with rain-blackened boards or thin slate, along with rotting, disintegrating wooden partitions and

gates.... The streets can be crossed neither on foot nor by car, being blocked by pigs splashing in huge mud puddles, and those drivers who do travel through Abasha spend in 10 minutes a year's stock of salty expletives."

Why did the Abasha peasants have such bad luck? From times immemorial, the famed "Abasha White" corn had been grown in that area. And what does such corn mean to the local inhabitants? It means both the sumptuous "mchadi" (scones) which grace ordinary and festive meals and feed for poultry and livestock and hence also abundance for the family. But owing to measures to equalize wages and other shortcomings in the management of agriculture, the harvests of this principal crop in the rayon began to diminish. By the early 1970s they fell to as little as 6-7 quintals per hectare. No measures taken by the local administrators could redeem the situation. The kolkhoz members boarded up the windows and doors of houses and departed elsewhere.

The volatile-oil and oleaginous crops had still worse luck. The local sovkhofactory for the processing of geranium, Damask rose, basil, and saffron experienced a decline. And yet it had set up a unique shop for distilling basil oil. There are only two shops of this kind in the country: in Moscow and in Abasha. But the oil from this southern plant was shipped to the shop from other places in Georgia, although basil has always grown well on Abasha soil.

At the time, the rayon newspaper OBNOVLENNAYA ABASHA wrote as follows on this topic: "The Kolkhoz imeni Marani fulfilled the plan for the production of volatile-oil and oleaginous crops 7.8 percent, and the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, 4 percent. The performance of the sovkhoses was particularly poor." The reason was the same: an ill-conceived wage system, lack of interest among producers, the unwillingness of local administration to examine the causes. Their slogan was "[Fulfill] the plan at any price." Once they accomplish it, honor and glory to them.

But there was neither honor nor glory. Many administrators had been replaced in Abasha in those years, but the changes did not result in improvements.

## 2. Even One Man in the Field Can Be a Warrior

Late in May 1973, upon the recommendation of the Georgian CP CC, Guram Davydovich Mgeladze was elected the first secretary of the Abashskiy Rayon party committee. He spent the morning of his first day in office on a corn field. By noon not one kolkhoz member had appeared on that field: they all were working on their private land plots.

Mgeladze began to get to know the farm heads, specialists, field workers. He studied the economics of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and restored disrupted bonds with the people. From then on the rayon committee did not decide on anything without prior consultation with grain growers, shepherds, milkmaids, and mechanizers. Some of the party bureau's sessions were conducted locally with the participation of toilers of the fields and animal farms. When submitting a question for discussion, the first secretary would say:

"That's what we at the rayon committee think. And what's your advice, comrades?"

People liked this. They finally sensed that party members sincerely wish to understand and listen to them. At these sessions it was possible to praise and criticize openly, and to express doubts and fears. The people of Abasha understood that nothing would change in the rayon without their advice, opinion, and personal participation.

On their part, Mgeladze and party bureau members soon realized that Abasha could not be made to stand on its own feet until a just wage system would be introduced. Thus, after a thorough examination, a new system of material incentives was introduced in all branches of the rayon's economy. Its principles are as follows:

--For fulfilling the plan for the output of agricultural products, direct producers receive a 10-percent bonus in kind;

--For overfulfilling the plan, they receive a bonus of up to 70 percent of plan-exceeding output;

--The producers of vegetables and volatile-oil and oleaginous crops receive 20 percent for fulfilling the plan and 50 percent of plan-exceeding output (in cash) for overfulfilling the plan.

The results: in 1973 field workers harvested 14,234 tons of grain corn. Previously, the annual harvests used to be below 7,000 tons. This was the first fruit of the Abasha Experiment, based on making people directly interested in highly productive labor.

The previous administrators, unfortunately, did not always keep their promises. They talked but did not act; they promised but did not give. The kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers had little faith in them. So Guram Mgeladze began to instruct party workers about their obligation to keep their word.

The following instance has been recounted: an old female teacher was being pensioned off in a village. She had taught many children, and she brought up many into human beings. Her retirement was an occasion for flowers, gifts, good wishes. One of her former pupils, by then already a high-ranking worker, approached the teacher and, kissing her hand, declared:

"I'd like to do something nice for you."

The teacher answered: "If it's no bother, I'd like to subscribe to the periodical RABOTNITSA."

The comrade promised her that, but the next day he forgot all about it under the press of affairs. A month passed. Mgeladze learned about this. At the next regular meeting of the party bureau, the party member who broke his word was made to blush. This was something he would not forget soon. And the journal subscription for the schoolteacher was taken care of.

Thus, in little things and big ones, the first secretary restored the authority of the rayon committee and its workers in the eyes of the toilers of farm and field,

and created a new moral climate. Together with the system of material incentives, this contributed to an upsurge in the rayon's agriculture. Thus while in, say, 1970 the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin harvested only 200 tons of corn from 300 hectares, 6 years later it had harvested 1,200 tons from the same area. While in the past the farm used to purchase outside seed corn, it now began to sell its own seed corn to other kolkhozes. Peasants returned to their homes.

The awarding of grain bonuses was carried out directly in the field, under festive circumstances, with the grain being conveyed by kolkhoz vehicles to the peasants' barns. Abundance arrived in the homes of not only the best-known corn growers in the region, such as D. Dundua, G. Shengeliy, and B. Kopaleyshvili, but also all who had labored honestly. The interests of the people merged with the interests of the national economy. In 4 years the mean corn harvest per hectare had nearly quadrupled. A similar increase took place in the harvests of vegetables and volatile-oil and oleaginous crops. Kolkhoz members began to compete with each other in industriousness. Some even left for work on the sectors assigned to them at night, in bright moonlight: it was cooler and the job could be done more rapidly.

N. Grigoliya, a middle-aged woman, got for herself a hectare of land under corn and threshed from it 85 centers of grain compared with the planned 25. Moreover, she grew 25 tons of volatile-oil and oleaginous crops compared with the planned 5 tons, and 10 tons of vegetables compared with the planned 2.5 tons. Bumper harvests were grown by M. Gugushvili, V. Solomoniya, T. Kupreishvili, L. Galdava, N. Tsomaya, and many others.

But things were not easy for Guram Mgeladze. The new system of bonuses in kind had alarmed the Ministry of Agriculture and other republic authorities. Critical outcries were made. But Mgeladze stuck it out. He demonstrated the superiority of the new system for the remuneration of labor in terms of the results it produced. The CC of the Georgian CP supported him. The results were tangible: the Abashskiy Rayon party committee began to pay more attention to creating a healthy climate within the work collectives and organizing socialist competition and contests for the best plantation. For the victors in these competitions a number of other means of moral and material encouragement was worked out: certificates of commendation, challenge pennants, telegraphed greetings posted in public spots, etc. The especially distinguished tractor and combine-harvester operators were handed certificates of pace-setting mechanizers in ceremonial circumstances.

The significance of such certificates is as follows: On the left side there is the photograph with the name under it; and on the right, an enumeration of the privileges to which a pace-setter is entitled. In Point 1 it is stated that the bearer of this document has priority in purchasing scarce goods on the territory of the rayon. Point 2 authorizes the bearer to a free annual stay at a sanitarium or rest home. Points 3, 4, and 5 authorize the bearer to have priority in access to medical and shopping services and loans for private housing construction.

## Abasha Experiment Described Further

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by N. Rostislavskiy, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA special correspondent, Riga-Tbilisi-Abasha-Riga: "Talsi and Abasha" under the rubric "The Food Program as a National Cause"]

### [Text] 3. The New System of Management

In 1974 a production association for the management of agriculture was set up in the Abashskiy Rayon by way of an experiment supported by the CC of the Georgian CP. It included all the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the rayon, the mobile mechanized columns [PMK] of the construction trust, the local associations of the Georgian SSR Association for the Sales of Agricultural Equipment [Sel'khoztekhnika], the administration for land reclamation and water management, and other organizations associated with agricultural production.

The previously existing rayon administration of agriculture was mainly confined to administering the kolkhozes, and lacked jurisdiction over the organizations active in them. For example, if the rayon underfulfilled the corn output plan, this boded neither good nor ill wind, as the saying goes, for the local land-reclamation administration which kept on digging canals and laying drain pipe without considering their effect on the harvest, being concerned only about fulfilling its own plan and receiving bonuses.

But now all this has changed. The chief of the administration for land reclamation and water management, Aleksandr Iosifovich Dzhakoniya, the head of the local Georgian Sel'khoztekhnika [Gruzselsel'khoztekhnika] Association Abesalom Valerianovich Asatiani, and other heads of rayon organizations now attend planning sessions in the mornings at the office of the chairman of board of the RAPO, Otar Shalovich Tsomaya, whose deputies they are. In the rayon, their performance and that of the collectives entrusted to them is evaluated not in terms of capital outlays made, nor in terms of the kilometers of canals excavated, but in terms of the quantity of the production sold to the state. It is the RAPO that pays their salaries, and they receive bonuses only on condition of fulfilling rayon plans.

The apparatus of the RAPO consists of the chairman of the board, who is at the same time deputy chairman of the rayon executive committee [of the soviets of people's deputies], as well as of four branch deputy chairmen and six departments: planning and economics, crop growing, animal husbandry, mechanization and electrification, capital construction, and procurements.

The activities of all these services, like those of every individual employee, are oriented toward the end-product, on which their welfare hinges directly. Hence, field tillers, mechanizers, repairmen, animal husbandrymen, and managerial personnel always are concerned about the manner in which their performance affects production.

Consider the State Committee for the Sel'khoztekhnika [Goskomsel'khoztekhnika]. Previously, kolkhozes and sovkhoses did not find it convenient to avail themselves of



specialized repair service: it was expensive and not always of good quality. The farms would set up their own tiny repair shops, which could not compare with the specialized branch. But as for that branch itself, it used to charge them sky-high fees and work on the principle that the more repairs are performed the higher the profits are.

But now Asatiani, the head of the Abasha Association of Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, tries to get his chief in Tbilisi to reduce the plan of repair operations, since he finds it inconvenient to withdraw machinery from the fields, because all the sovkhos tractors in the rayon figure on the association's annual balance sheets, while the tractors in the kolkhozes are leased and now all belong to the Goskomsel'khoztekhnika.

The principle followed here is that there should be only one owner of equipment, and that owner should operate strong repair facilities and a reliable supply system. Hence, the kolkhozes and sovkhos of Abashskiy Rayon do not own their machinery and implements.

Has this been beneficial to the kolkhozes and sovkhos? Yes, it has. Their managers have been relieved of the bother of having to attend to acquire and store equipment, repair it, and so forth. Their financial situation has improved. Land previously used to store machinery has been released for other purposes.

The results of all this are that the number of tractors subjected to general overhauls has decreased to one-third, repair costs have been halved, and periodic maintenance has virtually eliminated the need for repair.

What is the stimulus behind the activities of the Goskomsel'khoztekhnika? It is the principle of cost effectiveness. The relations between this agency and the farms are based on contractual obligations for plowing their fields, applying artificial fertilizers, sowing, and harvesting. They follow, as it were, the folk saying, "As you sow so you shall reap." And as you shall reap so you shall earn. The mechanizer gets his full pay only after the harvest is in the granaries. Remuneration is directly dependent on the size of the harvest.

It is thus that the Abashskiy RAPO has evolved into a competent, well-organized agency for the management of the rayon's agriculture. And what is being done now by the local party and Soviet bodies? They have been largely relieved of the task of solving narrowly economic problems and enabled to pay much more attention to indoctrination and organizational work.

The Association operates with its own centralized funds for: expansion of output, socio-cultural activities, material incentives, and contingency in the event of natural disasters and adverse weather. These funds are steadily growing. As for the farms, enterprises, and organizations belonging in the Association [RAPO], they deduct and transfer part of their income to the needs of the rayon.

The RAPO now consists of 26 organizations. Its elected council consists of 92 members, and its governing board, of 11 members. Administrative compartmentalization has been eliminated, while specialization and concentration of production based on inter-farm co-production and agroindustrial integration have been advanced.

The RAPO pays special attention to providing incentives for the work of mechanizers. Forty-four comprehensive-mechanization crop-growing teams have been set up on socialist farms. Under the concluded contract, a tractor operator receives 4 tons of grain if he fulfills his plan; 6 tons, if he overfulfills his plan by 30 percent; 8 tons, if he overfulfills it by 150 percent; and 10 tons, if he overfulfills it by 200 and more percent. Such material incentives have resulted in a marked increase in harvests. For example, in the year before the last, the mean harvest per hectare reached 55 quintals instead of the planned 47 quintals.

As of last year, a new procedure for awarding bonuses to the heads of the sovkhoses and agricultural enterprises has been introduced. It provides not only for material incentives but also for material responsibility.

The introduction of the new forms of agricultural management and new forms of material incentives, has facilitated the complete utilization of manpower resources. It has not happened in the rayon that a kolkhoz member or worker refrained from participation in socially useful labor.

Special attention is devoted to strengthening the material facilities of animal husbandry. To this end, 3,102,000 rubles has been spent during the past Five-Year Plan period. Eleven new standard animal farms, a reproductive facility for 1,200 farrowing sows, and a complex housing 1,200 head of large horned cattle were built, along with special areas for fattening 6,200 hogs and 2,700 young steers. Animal-husbandry facilities were built in Abasha, Ketilari, Dzveli, and Gezati.

Along with the intensification of animal husbandry, considerable attention is paid to increasing the cattle population and raising its productivity. Currently within the Association there are 8,890 head of large horned cattle (including 2,328 milch cows), more than 16,000 hogs, and more than 1,000 farrowing sows.

The volume of housing, communal, cultural, and consumer-services construction has been considerable. During the 10th Five-Year Plan 3 kindergartens, 7 schools, 6 stores, several consumer-services enterprises, more than 8,000 square meters of dwelling area, and private homes with an aggregate dwelling area of more than 5,000 square meters were built.

Under the plan for the economic and social development of the RAPO during the 11th Five-Year Plan period, the volume and effectiveness of agricultural production are to be markedly expanded. Toward the end of that period, meat sales to the state are scheduled to double and reach 6,000 tons. Sales of milk will reach 15,000 tons instead of the planned 4,534, and sales of grain, 8,500 tons instead of the planned 6,500 tons.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that normal relations between the RAPO and the republic organizations did not arise at once. Not all the administrations and ministries could tolerate the fact that in the Abashskiy Rayon agencies under their jurisdiction had acquired a second boss. But thanks to the unflagging support of the CC of the Georgian CP, all these problems were solved. For his successful conduct of the bold experiment, Guram Davydovich Mgeladze, the first secretary of the Abashskiy Rayon party committee, was awarded the honorific of Hero of Socialist Labor and appointed minister of the republic's agriculture. The Abasha Experiment is now being emulated throughout Georgia.

#### 4. The Potential of Private Land-Plot Farming

In the mid-1970s another experiment was begun in the Abashskiy Rayon, this time dealing with the maximal utilization of the potential of private land plots. Essentially, it consisted in enlisting the cooperation of the rural population with socialist farms on the basis of mutual interest in the end-results of labor. Here, too, a little needs be said about the background.

Owing to the mistakes made during those years in the Abashskiy Rayon, the share of private land-plot farming in the gross output of foodstuffs had been declining. It was assumed that a rapid development of socialist farms would offset the decline in production on private farms and make them an anachronism. This accounted for the abandonment of payments in kind, the curtailment of the rights of the rural population to haying and the use of pastures, the rigorous cattle quotas, etc.

As a result of all this, with each year the number of private land plots in the rayon lacking cows and not raising hogs and poultry had been increasing. A paradoxical situation had arisen: a considerable part of the rural population ceased to become food producers and turned into food consumers.

In view of this, the Abashskiy Rayon party organization began to take steps to broaden the possibilities of private land-plot farming, make people interested in such farming, and restore centuries-old traditions of the peasantry. Party members arrived at the firm opinion that it was necessary to organize the fattening of cattle by the population on cooperative principles--in cooperation with socialist farms. How is this matter organized at present in Abasha?

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses conclude contracts with the population for raising piglets to a delivery weight of 100 kg. They provide them with piglets from the reproduction farms established in the rayon. In the final settlement of accounts, the initial weight of the piglet is subtracted and paid for according to the state purchase price.

To fatten the piglets, the population can purchase combined fodder at state prices in amounts of 4 kg per kg of weight gain. Many private land-plot owners have built hog pens with materials bought from the rayon consumers cooperative [raypo]. Such a system of cooperation enables the farms to consider as their own the livestock raised on private land plots and receive extra payments for its sales in excess of the plan.

Experts have calculated that the production of one quintal of pork by the socialist sector costs 10-12 quintals of fodder units, whereas private land-plot owners, who use garbage as well as vegetables and fruits unfit for personal consumption to feed livestock, spend not more than 4 quintals of combined fodder per quintal of pork produced.

The rural dwellers of Abashskiy Rayon understood that cooperation with the socialist sector is advantageous and organized on a solid basis, and began to take a more active part in it. This year, contracts for raising hogs were concluded with about 4,000 private land-plot owners, who are fattening more than 15,00 piglets. At least

2,000 tons of pork are thus expected to be provided by the private sector. This is a substantial addition to the quantity of meat produced by the socialist sector.

What is also important is that this method of cooperation meshes private and public interests, since thus private subsidiary farms mesh organically, as it were, with socialist production, and the livestock thus raised represents, in essence, an additional source of personal income. This also results in accomplishing the important political and social problem of involving an absolute majority of the population in socially useful labor.

Plans exist to further broaden cooperative links with the population in the rayon. Toward year end, contracts with socialist farms will bind approximately 5,000 out of the 9,000 private land plots in the rayon. This will serve to produce as many as 5,000 tons of meat annually in the private sector.

The cooperation between the population and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes is growing as mutual trust increases. Interested individuals are assigned marginal-land plots reaching up to half a hectare in size, on the premise that the harvests they will reap on these plots will provide the state with additional quantities of meat and milk. Socialist farms provide technical aid to these individuals in tilling the land plots. The idea is that 70 percent of the reaped harvest will go to the private land-plot operator and 30 percent, to the kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Every cooperating private land-plot operator pledges himself to deliver to the state, at procurement prices, 500 kg of milk and 200 kg of meat in the course of the year.

The implementation of this idea serves not only to introduce marginal land into agricultural turnover but also to farm it intensively. It has been calculated that each such hectare can yield as much as an additional ton of milk.

The experience of the Abashskiy Rayon in cooperation between the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the population in the production of foodstuffs has been examined at conferences at the most varied levels. The common consensus has been that increasing the contribution of the private land-plot sector to the nation's food balance sheet deserves a highly positive evaluation and approval.

On the initiative of the Agricultural Department of the CC CPSU, late last year an all-Union seminar was held in Yerevan with the participation of G. D. Mgeladze. The participants listened very attentively to his report on the experience of the Abasha party organization in improving the management and organization of agricultural production and introducing forms and methods of integrating socialist and private land-plot sectors on the basis of mutual interest in the end-results of work.

On visiting the Abashskiy Rayon, Robert Burgert, the General Director of the well-known Hungarian "Babolna" Agroindustrial Complex, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and winner of the State Prize of the Hungarian People's Republic, praised the culture of farming in that rayon and declared that the forms and methods of cooperation between the population and socialist farms are also of interest to Hungary. In his interview with the Hungarian Radio, E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CC CPSU Politburo and first secretary of the CC of the Georgian CP, observed that the work in the Abashskiy Rayon is carried on in

a circumspect manner, on scientific principles, and is producing good fruits, and it is time for others to emulate this experiment. In Georgia it is being universally introduced.

#### Activities of the Abasha RAPO

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 4 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA special correspondent, N. Rostislavskiy, Riga-Tbilisi-Abasha-Riga: "Talsi and Abasha" under the rubric "The Food Program as a National Cause"]

[Text] 5. Heading the Experiment

The office of Kobalava, secretary of the Abashskiy Rayon party committee, is entered by visitors, one after another. Each is invited by Akakiy Bagratovich to sit down and speak about his needs, requests, or claims. Today is open house at the rayon committee and the doors of all the offices are open. An elderly woman has just entered. With tears in her eyes she hastily described how she, a single woman, was being insulted by her neighbors who were making her life unbearable.

Having attentively listened to the woman, Akakiy Bagratovich telephoned the chief of the rayon militia detachment and asked him to investigate the matter and take appropriate steps to resolve it. He then jotted down the details so as to be able to follow up on the matter later. The woman thanked him and left.

A man came to seek the secretary's advice on how to resolve a family conflict. On receiving the necessary recommendations, he smiles and, looking satisfied, leaves. And so on, until the evening. On that day, all the department secretaries and heads are in their offices. They can be consulted by anyone, and they attentively listen to all, give advice and assistance.

The rayon committee also designates local open-house days. To this end, a special quarterly schedule is drawn up. Announcements informing inhabitants who, when, and where will receive them are posted well in advance in a prominent spot at the rural soviets and in kolkhozes and industrial enterprises.

The first secretary of the rayon party committee, the chairman of the rayon ispolkom, and the heads of all services--medical, consumer, militia, the prosecutor's office, and the rayon department of public education [rayono]--then arrive at the rural soviets, kolkhozes, and industrial enterprises. They settle most problems on the spot. The more complex problems are transmitted for resolution to the party bureau and the meeting of the rayon executive committee. Such local open-house days are widely popularized by the rayon newspaper.

I asked secretary Kobalava: "Isn't this too much of a bother?"

Akakiy Bagratovich answered: "Rapport with the people is a fundamental prerequisite for administrators at all levels, and for party leaders in particular. It is precisely on this basis that our rayon party committee substructures its activities. Thanks

to our close rapport with the people we are excellently informed about the local situation and our fingers lie constantly on the pulse of the rayon's life, which is of invaluable assistance to us in our work."

I had arrived in Abasha just before the commencement of the field season. I was present at the general meeting of the rayon party committee bureau. Those present included mechanizers and field workers. A report was presented by the Minister of Agriculture Mgeladze. He had been working as first secretary in Abasha for 9 years and there is no one more intimately familiar than he with the local situation and its special features.

The comprehensive plan of field operations for the entire planting season was discussed. The rayon committee leaders did not give orders to those present but instead consulted them, revised on the spot discrete points of the plan, and listened to the advice of the most experienced specialists.

Following the conference, the participants traveled to a field camp to see for themselves how the mechanizers prepared themselves for planting. Repaired and operationally ready equipment was standing in a fenced-off macadammed area. Nearby stood a cozy residential house.

That house will be the dwelling of members of the comprehensive mechanized detachment headed by Arenat Marganiya, until the end of the harvesting season. The bedroom premises contain wooden beds of hotel type covered with snow-white linen and new blankets. The living room contains a TV set, a radio-gramophone, a chess set, a checkers set, and a small library. The walls are decorated with slogans and posters appealing for feats of labor, and a board with names of victors in the competition hangs in a prominent spot.

I asked Marganiya, the detachment leader: "What volume of work are you about to fulfill?"

"We are to grow corn, soybeans, and beans on an area of 1,000 hectares. The plan envisages at least 60 quintals of grain per hectare. If it is fulfilled, each of the ten members of the detachment will receive 1,000 rubles and 15 tons of grain which will be spent on personal family consumption as well as on fattening cattle and poultry. Prior to the commencement of work each of us was paid an advance of 300 rubles. If the harvest exceeds the plan, we shall receive an additional bonus."

"Are you satisfied with this system of remuneration?"

"Completely. We shall work regardless of time, because the assessment of our performance will directly hinge on the size and quality of the harvest."

We traveled over the fields. Along the roads and on fences we read the well-painted slogans: "Best wishes for happiness to you, Soviet man!" "Glory to the mechanizers!" "Weeds are an enemy that must be destroyed!" and others.

Graphic propaganda is everywhere. It is organized and updated by the ideological department of the rayon party committee.



Secretary Kobalava showed us the "flashes" [express telegrams] drafted during the fodder harvesting season. On a large sheet of thick paper runs in large letters the text: "FLASH! The victor in the socialist competition for fodder preparation was the mechanized team headed by (so-and-so). The members of the team are (so-and-so). The victors were handed the challenge pennant and a monetary bonus. We wish you new feats of labor, comrades!" The signature: Abashskiy Rayon commission for directing the socialist competition. Such "express telegrams" are posted in field camps, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes.

But there are "flashes" of another kind, printed in black rather than in red color. They announce that such-and-such team lags behind its schedule, does not care properly for equipment, or does not fulfill the plan. These "flashes" also are posted in prominent spots. Kobalava declared that sometimes the mechanizers criticized in them would personally visit the rayon committee and, with tears in their eyes, request to be "redeemed from the disgrace," promising to improve their work, to shape up, since in their village people were pointing their fingers at them and saying, "Look, here goes a laggard."

The organizational-political activities of the rayon party committee can be sensed everywhere. The entire rayon has been divided into zones. Each zone is assigned an instructor who guides the work of primary party organizations and assists them. At 9 a.m. on the first Wednesday of each month all rayon committee members travel to the party organizations assigned to them and examine their performance, written records, and other documents, record in a special journal all their findings, the steps taken, and the periods specified for the elimination of shortcomings. Their observations are authenticated by their signatures as well as by those of the secretaries of primary party organizations. Also monitored, at the same time, are the performances of the Komsomol and trade-union organizations, consumer service, trade, public health service, graphic agitation, etc.

On the following day the examiners present exhaustive reports on their findings to the first secretary of the rayon party committee. The more complex problems are discussed at meetings of the party committee bureau, at which measures to resolve them are decided upon and subsequently implemented.

At general meetings of the bureau the plans of activity for every agricultural season are approved: planting, fodder preparation, harvesting, wintering of cattle. At these meetings the discussion pertains not only to economic problems but also to aspects of political-educational and culture-spreading work as well as of consumer and medical services and others.

A rayon staff is established for directing field operations. It consists of seven operational groups, each handling a different aspect, such as quality, medical service, etc. The staff meets every evening. The operational groups report on the progress of operations, shortcomings, and the measures taken. Once each day the results of the socialist competition are evaluated. Challenge pennants and bonuses are distributed on the spot in the fields.



Special attention is paid to mechanizers. Prior to the commencement of field work, they all undergo a medical examination and subsequently they are periodically examined while at work.

In the fields, the mechanizers are brought food, lemonade, and mineral water, listen to political-information briefings and interviews, and informed about the results of the competition. Since they are made aware of the concern shown for them, they try hard and work devotedly.

Not so long ago as much as 90 and more percent of the time of primary party organizations had to be spent on purely economic activities. They duplicated, and sometimes supplanted, the work of specialists, which led to inertia, fear of responsibility, and timidity in the solution of complex problems. Now the situation has changed. The rayon party organization influences the growth of the rayon's economy via party echelons, through the selection, assignment, and education of cadres, ideological and political-educational work with the masses, and the shaping, within work collectives, of a moral-psychological climate that would favorably affect the end-results of labor.

The rayon party committee and party organization as a whole have become enabled to forecast the basic development trends of agriculture in the rayon on the basis of a steady increase in the effectiveness of production and quality of labor rather than on the basis of momentary successes. Improvements in the structure of economic management and the upsurge of agricultural production are not ends in themselves but signify the practical accomplishment of the main task advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress--the further improvement in the material welfare and spiritual growth of the Soviet people.

## 6. Friendship of Rayons

One fine day I traveled together with Givi Nadariyshvili, the editor of the rayon newspaper OBNOVLENNAYA ABASHA, to a cattle farm. It stood on a level plain, in the midst of a forest. All around there is neatness and asphalted surfaces. At the entrance gate there is the slogan: "Georgia can and should become a republic of highly developed animal husbandry!" Inside there is ventilation and central heating. The distribution of fodder and removal of manure are mechanized. The manure is transported outside on a conveyer belt and discharged into dump trucks which carry it to the fields or to the manure depot, instead of piling it up near the farm. The conveyer belt operates smoothly.

The lounge of animal husbandrymen contains a TV set, graphic agitation, a competition board, and a display stand proclaiming "People's Control In Action." On that stand are posted all the observations recorded during inspections, specifying the period allotted for the elimination of shortcomings. The milking schedule shows that individual milkmaids such as Zayra Pertenava, obtain a milk yield of 3,325 kg annually per cow in their groups. They are paid on piecework basis: those who obtain higher milk yields get paid more. Some milkmaids earn as much as 400-500 rubles a month. The work of cowherds is remunerated according to the end-result. They are paid up to 300 rubles. The calculations are simple: the price of one ton of milk is 80 rubles: 70 percent of that amount goes to the milkmaid and 30 percent, to the cowherd.

The cattle was grazing. Accompanied by the head of the farm, Shot Sharukhiya, we drove to the field. Several groups of cows were grazing on the green carpet of the enclosures. Each group was supervised by a cowherd.

Sharukhiya said: "Look at that one: it is a Latvian Brown cow. It was sent to us by our partner in the competition, the Talsinskiy Rayon, as part of a group of 150 cows. They are more productive than ours. Please convey to the management of that rayon our warm thanks for these cows and, if possible, we will buy yet another such lot."

The competition between the Abashskiy and Talsinskiy agroindustrial associations was organized 4 years ago. It is progressing successfully and the heads of the RAPO as well as party and Soviet workers periodically meet in Talsi and Abasha and together evaluate the fulfillment of contractual obligations, draft plans for the future, and assist each other. Not for nothing has the experience gained in this competition been examined in March of this year at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

To strengthen the animal husbandry in the Abashskiy Rayon, the Talsinskiy Rayon sent there 180 primipara heifers of the Latvian Brown breed, 106 young pigs, and 20 young boars of the Latvian White breed. To express their appreciation, the men of Abashskiy Rayon gave the name of "Talsi" to the animal farm described above. The Talsi RAPO emulated certain forms of the centralized management of agricultural production practiced by the Abasha RAPO.

It once happened that the Abasha RAPO had problems with the production of grass meal. By agreement with their Talsi RAPO partners, they dispatched four mechanizers to the "Dundaga" Kolkhoz where they were taught to operate a facility for the production of vitamin-treated meal. Now that meal is also being produced in Abasha.

The partners in the competition benefited in many other ways from one another. They are introducing every innovation into agricultural production. And whichever wins in the socialist competition, neither is the loser, since both optimize the results of their labors.

The competition strengthens the friendship between the fraternal nations. The rayon newspapers PADOM'YU KAROGS [Talsi] and OBNOVLENNAYA ABASHA exchange columns and periodically publish materials on their rayons. The editor of the Talsi newspaper A. Akmens visited Abasha. Talsi was visited by I. Topuriya, the executive secretary of the editorial board of the Abasha newspaper. The delegations receive a cordial, brotherly welcome; nothing is concealed from them, and they share each other's accomplishments.

Talsi and Abasha.... Two rayons of two fraternal Union republics. Their friendship reflects the very nature of the Soviet system of society, of the advanced socialist society. The Soviet people have common ideals, common goals, and a common spirit of innovation and competition. All the nations of our country, which this year celebrates the 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR, live together like a united and cohesive family.

I recollect a conversation held with K. Rutenberg, first secretary of the Talsinskiy Rayon party committee, in the initial period of the competition between the two rayons.

At the time, he told me: "It is said that the denizens of Abasha have been extremely successful in their experiment. We intend to study their experience. The rayon's communists acted as initiators of the competition with the Georgian farmers. We hope for a positive response."

The first secretary's hopes were justified. The proposal of the Talsi people met with a response in Abasha. Delegations were exchanged and during that time the first agreement for labor cooperation was signed.

Four years have passed. The competition continues to the benefit of the two fraternal rayons and, it can be stated, of Latvia and Georgia.

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REGIONAL

AUTHORITIES DEREGISTER UIGHUR RELIGIOUS LEADER

Alma-Ata KOMMUNIZM TUGHU in Uighur 29 Jun 82 pp 3-4

[Article by A. Abdullayev, of Alma-Ata: "Who Is Worthy of Respect?"]

[Text] Recently a letter arrived at our editorial office from communist veterans living in the Lktyabr'skiy Rayon of Alma-Ata. In it was the following:

"It must be well known to you that the journals SHMEL' and ARA revealed last summer that in our quarter, Sultanqorghon, qari [one who knows the Quran by heart] Omar Tokhtayev and his defenders I. Mamirov and O. Sematov had been putting on the mask of religion, deceiving the people, and sharing in the income which the people had obtained through honest work. However, the details about the astonishing breaches of order continuing over the past several years in our quarter and resulting from the unfortunate activity of these people were not spelled out in the articles published in these journals. Therefore, misunderstandings and unpleasant talk have lasted to this very day among the Uighur community in our quarter and are having a negative effect upon amicable relations among people. Taking advantage of this situation, Ibay Mamirov and others are engaging in intrigues and not letting any good opportunity slip by. For instance, at the funeral feast held in the autumn at the house of Ismayil Ayupov, I. Mamirov showed his close friends and relatives the issues of the journals SHMEL' and ARA in which the above-mentioned articles appeared. He labeled everything in them as lies and all the facts as slander. He called upon them to write a refutation. Then I. Mamirov organized such a letter, that is, a letter that praised him and contained lies to the effect that he had not ties whatsoever with the mullahs. He had some of his close friends and relations, R. Supurgiyev, Kh. Qamirdinov, M. Bilalov, B. Khusanov and others, sign it, and he sent it to higher agencies. When the esteemed elder and veteran of the revolution Shamshidin Niyazov--a man who had regularly written

letters to editorial boards and party and government agencies about the misdeeds of I. Mamirov and of his close relative O. Tokhtayev--passed away, Iminjan Mamataliyev, hid the key to the cemetery gate to prevent the deceased from being buried in that cemetery. In another case, friends of I. Mamirov, Hakim and Khali Khalmuradov, went to the house of A. Azizov during his son's wedding feast, and harassed him in front of his in-laws, accusing him of complaining to the relevant agencies about Tokhtayev and Mamirov.

"There are many such incidents, but we do not wish to recount the facts in this letter. However, we do ask that the editorial staff write in detail in the newspaper about the breaches of order that have been taking place as a result of activity contrary to Soviet laws that Tokhtayev, Mamirov and those people around them have been conducting for many long years now in Sultanqorghon, we ask that the newspaper staff help to end it once and for all."

It was considered appropriate to publish the following article to satisfy this request.

The elders of the quarter were gathering for a meeting in the building of School No 101 on Belinskiy Street in Alma-Ata. At the meeting a representative of the executive committee of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies was supposed to make an announcement--a short one, but of a certain significance to the local Muslim population. It had not occurred to anyone that some people intended to create disorder at this meeting and had brought certain individuals and prepared them beforehand for this purpose.

The meeting opened. The representative of the rayon executive committee gave a speech and announced that Omar Tokhtayev, who had served as a mullah for a long time in this rayon, had been breaking Soviet laws, that although he had been given a warning several times by the rayon executive committee, he continued his illegal activities, that numerous complaints about this had also come from the working people of the rayon, that he therefore has now been removed from the roster and deprived of the right to serve as a mullah by decree of the rayon executive committee, and that hereafter when the population needs a mullah, it must appeal to the mosque. But he had scarcely finished speaking when a noisy commotion arose among the meeting participants. An old man wearing eyeglasses stood straight up from his place and began to wave his arms and shout, "the masses are solidly against" the decree of the rayon executive committee, "they strongly demand that Tokhtayev be retained in his position," and he even poured forth threats such as "it will be bad" if this is not done. Not only that, but he flailed at two old men who were sitting peacefully on the side and started cursing and abusing them. He shouted, "They're the ones who have cast aspersions on the mullah, written letters to government agencies and made all the trouble."

The crowd began to disperse after the representative of the executive committee settled the commotion down a little and said that the rayon executive committee would not adopt a decree on the basis of slander, that it was not appropriate to discuss its decree at this meeting, but that it was necessary to implement it, that if the community had questions or matters that it wanted resolved concerning religion, it was necessary to appeal to the mosque. Then as the above-mentioned "orator" with eyeglasses pointed to the other two old gentlemen, he shouted, "Curse these two, spit in their faces!" And there were people who obeyed this "order" of his and "cursed" them.

What kind of shameful thing is this?! Who are its organizers? Who are the individuals who engaged in hooliganism at his instigation? Is it the "orator" with eyeglasses? Who were the old gentlemen who were reviled through no fault of their own?

To better understand the answers to these questions, it would be fitting to recall the article published under the headline "Customs and Traditions or a Way to Make Money?" in the 7 December 1978 issue of our newspaper. It revealed that a group of quasi-mullahs headed by Omar Tokhtayev was using religion as a mask, turning it into a means of getting money, and sharing in the income which the working people had acquired by honest labor, that in order to increase the sources of such earnings they revived some old religious customs and traditions which had been long forgotten and which are completely alien to our present-day developed socialist society. It stressed that all of these were activities alien to our present life and against Soviet laws.

The issue raised in the article was examined at a meeting of the executive committee of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, and it was established that the facts presented were correct. Tokhtayev and the other would-be mullahs fully admitted their erroneous deeds, saying that they did such things because they did not fully know Soviet laws; they asked for a pardon. Importance was attached to their admission and pardon request. Because O. Tokhtayev promised not to engage in activities contrary to Soviet laws, he was retained in his position as mullah, and as for the others who had become self-styled "mullahs," they were given a stern warning not to serve in this capacity.

With this, the group of mullahs in Sultanqorghon was broken up. But not too long afterwards the repentance and promises Omar Tokhtayev had made turned out to be false. The letters that began to arrive at the editorial office and other government agencies from the working people of Sultanqorghon disclosed that he was still going strong.

As a result of an investigation of these letters, it became clear that not only did Tokhtayev, considering himself lord and khan in this quarter, repeat the misdeeds of the former group of would-be mullahs which were found to be against Soviet laws, but he strove to take them to new heights.

Now Tokhtayev all by himself would take the money that used to "feed" a group of "mullahs" before. Put another way, whereas before Tokhtayev's

daily earnings would run in the tens of rubles, now his take on some days would run in the hundreds. Not content with his usual proceeds, which came in uninterruptedly every day, he did not shy away from large-scale mass "measures." For instance, while according to Soviet laws such mass acts of worship as say, holy day prayers, may be conducted in a place designated by government agencies. Tokhtayev on his own initiative performed holy day prayers four times in two straight years (1979-1980) on the territory of Sultanqorghan. He turned over to the mosque only a tiny portion of the extremely large amount of money derived from this; he "pocketed" the remaining major portion. When an incident occurred in which an underage youth abducted an underage girl, and the official marriage agencies would not register them, Tokhtayev brushed aside the laws of the state and recited wedding prayers for them in accordance with the regulations of the shariat. Or there were cases in which he received rubles in the hundreds for converting a young man to "the faith" and "making him Muslim" when a non-Muslim youth wanted to marry a Muslim girl. As medical workers in this rayon would attest, Tokhtayev took advantage of some people's backwardness and proclaimed himself able to cure them and their children when they became ill by "breathing" on them. In addition to taking more money, he caused their illnesses to intensify.

Tokhtayev demonstrated that he had the character of a hooligan and was an uncultured person. At funeral ceremonies and wedding feasts, he unjustly cursed people in front of others. Even rolling up his sleeves and swinging away with a cane or fist became common practices for Tokhtayev. For instance, someone who had experienced his stick, L. Khalmurzayev, was forced to undergo medical treatment and was unable to work for two months. On 23 January 1980 when pensioner Qeyin Aliyev, who is over seventy, told Tokhtayev, who had come several hours late to a funeral feast, that it was not good to keep people waiting like that, Tokhtayev bolted out of his seat and began to strangle Q. Aliyev then and there. If people had not separated them, no one knows how the scandal would have turned out. The old gentleman who had been beaten was terribly frightened and was confined to a bed for several days. One day at a graveside Tokhtayev soundly cursed pensioner Rustam Sabirov and threatened to beat him. It is not possible to print in the newspaper the words he spoke or the things he wanted to do. The soundly reviled R. Sabirov was obliged to leave the graveside and afterwards would not go to any place where Tokhtayev was, that is, to weddings or funeral feasts in Sultanqorghan.

Tokhtayev demonstrated that he was an extraordinarily backward man who did not understand very well in what era and in what kind of society he was living. While at the present time every Soviet family is living in prosperity and while it is only as a result of this that idle money could find its way into Tokhtayev's pocket, he did not think about how this prosperity came into existence or on whose blood, sweat and toil it was based. He did not notice that among the people with whom he himself associated and dealt with every day were people of high repute, veterans of the revolution, the War and labor, whom the present Soviet generation has boundless respect for and always remembers, whom writers, poets, and painters devote their works to,



whom our party and our government shows constant concern for. We are not suggesting that our veterans are in need of Tokhtayev's respect; they are worthy of the respect of the entire Soviet people. We regret that people like Tokhtayev have spoken harshly to them, have cursed them and offended them. Abliz Azizov and the late Shamshidin Niyazov and others, whom Tokhtayev harassed and crudely cursed several times for expressing critical opinions about him, are people who hold a worthy place in the ranks of these veterans. Among those whom Tokhtayev disdained are veterans like Savut Zaynalov, Abdulhekim Azizov, Abbas Islamov, Tilam Ablizov, Roshanbak Omarov, Rakhim Yusupov, Masimakhun Darayev, Qurvanjan Nurumov, Abduvayit Nurumov, Zunun Masimov, Arsham Jamalov and others, with whom he cannot compare at all in terms of services to the Homeland or in terms of respect among the people.

At this point another question could arise--how could Tokhtayev by himself manage to do such things to such an extent?

There is a large mosque in Alma-Ata. In case an event requiring a mullah takes place, in no matter what rayon of the city, people can appeal to the mosque and the mosque will satisfy their request. Only in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon is there a special registered mullah. What is the reason for this? Can't a mosque that satisfies the need for mullahs for all Alma-Ata satisfy the needs of Oktyabr'-skiy Rayon alone? Of course, it can. In that case, of what use is Tokhtayev? That is precisely the point.

Several years ago there were people who took an initiative in the matter of confirming O. Tokhtayev as the officially registered mullah of Sultanqorghan, who appealed to the proper agencies with beautifully and literately written petitions, and who obtained his confirmation. But in the years since then they proved many times that they were not people who are concerned about the Soviet citizens who believe in religion, but were individuals who look out only for their own personal interests. This "interest" is nothing more than the earnings to be derived thanks to the mullah.

While some of them are literate people who know Soviet laws well and in addition who have experienced a great deal and are very knowledgeable in every method and way of "coming by" money, and who operate cleverly, others are semi-literate people who do not read newspapers or listen to the radio, and who therefore are ignorant of Soviet laws and who operate stupidly. But all of them have certain characteristics in common: they are people who prefer (the twisted maxim) "he who does not work can still eat," or who prefer working a little and making a lot, and who have gotten used to "fishing in muddy waters." They praised Tokhtayev to the skies and tried to turn him into a religious figure as of olden times whom no one could reproach. As a result, Tokhtayev was artificially turned into a recipient of honor and respect and was set up in a place of honor. Social matters that belong outside of religious customs and ceremonies were conducted in accordance with his wishes. For example, wedding celebration matters, which are devoted to joining two young people and directing them towards a new life, were to be managed from beginning to end by the mullah. The new spirit, the new atmosphere, the new customs and traditions, and the new Komsomol wedding ceremonies that arose in the Soviet era disappeared, and in their place

ancient customs which had been forgotten long ago and for which there is absolutely no need and various rites and rituals which squander the money of wedding sponsors flourished. The festive ceremonies held when a boy at the age of majority is sent off to the army to fulfill his sacred duty were turned into funeral ceremonies.

While Ibay Mamirov, who at one time occupied positions of high service but who later was removed from party membership for having misappropriated state property and went to prison, took upon himself the task of defending Tokhtayev before government organs, Omar Sematov, a hooligan who is often drunk and has been convicted of serious criminal activity, and people like him took upon themselves bodyguard duty in order to defend Tokhtayev by means of physical force and the fist. Clear proof of this can be seen in I. Mamirov's totally unrestrained praise of Tokhtayev, his attempts to defame and slander the meeting of the executive committee of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies which adopted the decree about removing Tokhtayev from the roster of mullahs, and his threats in this connection to Comrade R. A. Gavrilenko, secretary of the Oktyabr'skiy raykom. Further proof can be seen in the fact that O. Sematov supported Tokhtayev at funeral ceremonies and other celebrations, waving his fists at veterans, including A. Azizov, ready to beat them, and cursing them. As a result of these things and in addition, as a result of the fact that Tokhtayev and his defenders make threats to people who don't do what they tell them to, such as "we will kick you out of the community" and "we will make you move out of the quarter," numerous people became frightened of them. Tokhtayev and those around him were taking advantage of such a situation, which they themselves had created, and were "fishing in muddy waters."

That is, Tokhtayev did not conduct the "activity" described above by himself, he had defenders of such a type.

We think we have answered, though briefly, all of the questions raised at the beginning of our article. The reader should understand that the "orator" with eyeglasses was Ibay Mamirov and those individuals who followed him and engaged in hooliganism were Saydulla Zakirov, Hezim Iminov, Rakhimjan Supurgiyev, Omarjan Qadirov, Abdujelil Mansurov and others. Now, as for the two old men sitting peacefully on the side who were cursed sharply by the above individuals, both of them were veterans of the Komsomol, one was Abliz Azizov whose party membership alone spans a half century, the other was the late Shamshidin Niyazov, who possessed a similarly honorable biography and enjoyed great respect among the population. In fact, they had regularly written to the editorial board and to party and Soviet organs about the shameful things set forth above, because this was their sacred obligation to the party and government. They wrote the truth. For this no one has the right to protest against them or to speak harshly to them.

This incident must serve as a lesson both for every clergyman and citizens who believe in religion. In our country there is the freedom to believe or not to believe in religion, a freedom guaranteed in the USSR Constitution. The USSR Constitution moreover imposes obligations pertaining to Soviet

citizens. It is therefore necessary not to forget that the correct exercise of the freedoms is required and that it is necessary to fulfill obligations.

It is also necessary not to forget that the Soviet people have boundless respect for the pacesetters who brought about the Great October Revolution, who defended the freedom and independence of the Homeland in the Great Patriotic War, and who have created our wealth and present prosperity with their selfless labor and that no one will ever be permitted to offend them.

9963

CSO: 1837/2

## REGIONAL

### VIGILANCE IN FORMER NATIONALIST RAYON CONTINUES

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 6 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by V. Kobynets', secretary, Dolinskiy Rayon Committee, Ukrainian Communist Party: "Halan Is With Us...."]

[Excerpts] A moment of silence. The fresh purple of the flowers by the obelisk glistens in the hands of the grateful boys and girls.

Each time the village is visited by the rayon sociopolitical club named after Yaroslav Halan, the villagers recall with quickened heartbeat and deep veneration the soldiers and village activists who lost their lives at the hands of the fascist occupation forces and nationalist cutthroats.

The club had again convened in Huziyevo. Those gathered in the crowded auditorium of the village House of Culture included both older people, who remember well those awful war years and the first postwar years, and young people, who have grown up under peaceful skies and know only from books, movies and stories about the evil deeds perpetrated here by the nationalists.

Reminiscences, curses, tears. And stories about the happy today of the village and of the entire Ciscarpathian region. Village executive committee chairman H. Harvanko spoke in particular about the socialist reforms accomplished in this region and further plans for its sociocultural development. Those present in the auditorium became even more convinced: concern by the Communist Party and the Leninist friendship among the Soviet peoples constitute the cornerstone of our today and our tomorrow. Taking a look in the auditorium and later speaking with the old and young farmers, and one becomes even more strongly convinced: no force whatsoever, even though great efforts are being made across the ocean, can whitewash Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, since the wounds it has inflicted on people, evoking just anger, have not yet healed to this day. This pain and anger of the older generation is being passed on to our youth.

The Dolinskiy Rayon Party Committee and primary party organizations are doing a fine job of indoctrinating working people in a Communist spirit, in disseminating and consolidating in their consciousness and practical activities the Soviet way of life. In connection with this we devote considerable attention in particular to exposing the hostile, antipopular essence of the

ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and the Uniate Church. This is dictated by the specific conditions of the rayon. The Bandera underground was once operating here, and the Uniate Church put down deep roots. People receive letters and parcels from abroad -- by this channel our enemies or persons befogged by bourgeois propaganda seek to inject hostile ideas and all kinds of lies into our home.

In order to teach vigilance and to develop in people a lasting immunity against bourgeois nationalist ideology and propaganda, to indoctrinate them as internationalists, the rayon committee and primary party organizations employ various forms and methods of mass political work. This effort is also fostered by rayon Friendship, Patriot of the Homeland, Beacon, and other rayon sociopolitical clubs, particularly outstanding among which is the club which bears the name of Yaroslav Halan, writer-internationalist and ardent fighter for Communist ideals. More than 10 years have passed since it was established, and there is not a single village or workforce in the rayon which it has not visited on several occasions and where people do not look forward to getting together with it again.

Halan and his flaming word stride shoulder to shoulder with us. The rayon party committee guides the club's activities in such a manner as to cover the most important items in patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of working people, particularly young people, to nip in the bud in a proper manner slander against the Soviet way of life, and more fully to reveal the Leninist nationalities policy -- a policy of friendship among peoples, and to expose the ideology and deeds of the Yellow-and-Blues. Its activities program includes lectures on the hostile essence of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, on its alliance with the Uniate Church, about socialist reforms at the dawn of Soviet rule, book exhibits and bibliographic surveys of literature on these topics, and addresses by victims of and witnesses to OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] high-handedness (there is not a village in the rayon in which the Bandera people did not take dozens of lives, leaving orphans, widows and smoldering ruins), and showings of the motion pictures "Deliberate Murderer," "Bitter Echo," and others. All this as an aggregate exerts an emotional influence on people, arouses vigorous thinking, and consolidates Communist convictions....

Nationalism sowed dissension and enmity, while the rapid prospering of the Ciscarpathian cities, towns, and villages took place thanks to the vivifying friendship and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples. Everybody understands that it is thanks to it that the once backward Dolinskiy Rayon has rapidly become an industrial rayon, with an advanced agriculture.

3024

CSO: 1811/60

## REGIONAL

### IMPORTANT ROLE OF TARTU UNIVERSITY IN LATVIAN CULTURE

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by S. Isakov, a professor at Tartu State University: "Tartu University and Latvian Culture"]

[Text] Tartu University has played an important role in the history of the culture and revolutionary movement of many peoples of our country. However, its importance in the history of Latvian culture is perhaps especially great.

Quite a few people of Latvian extraction studied and worked in Tartu Academy (as the university was called in the 17th Century). Among them were the greatest Latvian language writers of the 17th Century: Georg Mantsel'; Khristofor Fireker, a university professor and author of the first Latvian language dictionary; and Yan Reyter, the first Latvian to receive a higher education, a scientist, writer and translator -- an extremely interesting individual. The first record of Latvian folklore known to us belongs to F. Menius, a history professor at the university.

Tartu University exerted an especially great influence on the development of Latvian culture and science in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Centuries. Approximately 1,500 Latvians received an education in it -- almost a majority of the pre-revolutionary Latvian intelligentsia.

Soon after the restoration of the university in 1802 the teaching of the Latvian language was organized in it. A special lecturer in this subject performed this function. Many of them also engaged in a scientific study of the Latvian language. Thus, several books on Latvian grammar belong to O. B. G. Rozenberger, the first lecturer.

During the first half of the 19th Century, a little more than 500 Latvians studied in Tartu University. Kaspar Biyezbardis, the first Latvian philosopher, a prominent publicist and public figure, was among them.

Thanks to the local Latvian student body, Tartu became one of the largest centers of the Latvian national movement in the middle of the century. Krish'yan Val'demar, the future leader of this movement, and poet and publicist Yuris Alunan, the founder of Latvian national literature, studied here; and Krish'yan Baron, the greatest

Latvian folklorist and "father of the dayna" (dayny are Latvian folksongs) studied physics and mathematics here. Headed by K. Val'demar, Latvian students who had studied in Tartu University founded their own circle in the fall of 1856. Its participants organized so-called Latvian evenings where burning problems in the social, political and cultural life of Latvia were discussed. The members of the circle tried to raise the national consciousness of the Latvian people, develop their culture and literature and contribute to the spread of education. That same year, Yu. Alunan published his collection "Pesenki" [Songs] in Tartu. The history of Latvian national literature begins with this. He also published three editions of a popular scientific collection "Dom, priroda, vseleonnaya" [House, Nature, the Universe] here. Latvian scientific and popular scientific books begin with them. K. Baron wrote the first Baltic geography textbook in the Latvian language, "Opisaniye nashego otechestva" [A Description of Our Homeland], here. Researchers see with complete justification the beginning of the young Latvian movement and the dawn of the Latvian national rebirth in all this.

At the end of the 1860's and the beginning of the 1870's, Tartu became an important center of this movement. The movement was connected with the activity of Atis Kronval'd, a teacher, linguist, writer, and publicist who worked in the pedagogical courses of Tartu University and who taught in the Tartu Teacher's Seminary after their completion. On his initiative, the Latvian evenings and the activities of the Latvian student circle were resumed.

The circle was later changed to the "Letoniya" Corporation. Poet Ye. Lautenbakh-Yusmin', who began to teach the Latvian language in the university after completing it, joined it. If Ye. Lautenbakh's poetry is now forgotten, his scientific works on Latvian dialectology, folklore and mythology have still not lost their value even now.

The progressive Latvian students, dissatisfied with the nature of the activity of the "Letoniya" Corporation, united in 1888 into a scientific literary society of students and Latvians (another name was "Pipkaloniya"). It became one of the important centers of the "New Current" -- the social movement of the progressive Latvian intelligentsia which carried out a revolution in the history of Latvian culture and social and political thought: It abetted the transition to revolutionary democracy and then to Marxism. Eduard Veydenbaum, the first Latvian revolutionary poet, was one of the organizers of the scientific literary society. All his best works were created in Tartu during 1887-1892 and reflect the attitudes and range of thought of the progressive Tartu students of that time. The thoroughly innovative poetry of E. Veydenbaum perhaps expressed best of all the strivings of the "New Current" members and the spirit of that era -- the era of searches and struggle. F. Rozin', a future very prominent Latvian Bolshevik and one of the founders of the Latvian Communist Party; Ya. Yanson-Braun, a very great Latvian Marxist critic who played an exceptionally important role in the history of Latvian literary thought; and others also joined "Pipkaloniya".

The importance of the scientific literary society of students and Latvians in the history of Latvian culture is great. Scientific reports and papers on the most varied subjects were regularly read during its sessions. The society published the "Purs" (Well) almanac. Articles, which explained the basic propositions of



dialectical and historical materialism to the readers and which acquainted them with the achievements of modern science and with Darwinism, were published in these collections for the first time in the Latvian press.

Progressive Estonian students and representatives of the democratic Estonian Tartu intelligentsia, especially E. Vil'de, maintained communications with the scientific literary society of students and Latvians.

The role of Tartu University graduates in the development of Latvian science was great. Tartu University was the main forge of cadre for the Riga Polytechnical Institute, which was founded in 1862, and for the Latvian University, which was established in 1919. More than 600 Latvian doctors received an education in Tartu University -- 21 of them were professors including such famous Latvian physicians as V. Lepukalns and Ya. Mikel'son.

Tartu University alumni have done a great deal for the scientific study of the Latvian language. In this regard, the services of Yanis Endzelin', a very great specialist on Baltic philology, an academician and a Lenin prize laureate, were especially great. He studied classic and Slav philology in Tartu from 1893 to 1900, remained at the university to prepare for the rank of professor, became an assistant professor, and gave in the university a scientific course on the Latvian language and the comparative grammar of the Baltic languages. Later, he was a professor at Khar'kov and Latvian Universities. He was the author of more than 200 scientific works, among which were such basic works as a six-volume dictionary of the Latvian language and a grammar of the Latvian language.

These are only the most important facts which testify to how great the role of Tartu University was in the history of Latvian culture.

8802

CSO: 1800/1023

## REGIONAL

### PROBLEMS IN UKRAINE POSTAL SERVICE EXPLAINED

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 6 Jul 82 p 2

[Interview with H. Z. Sinchenko, UkSSR minister of communications, by RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA correspondent N. Chernychenko: "The Day Begins With the Newspaper"]

[Excerpts] This republic's postal service is a large and complex operation. Its services are utilized every day by millions of persons, thousands of enterprises, organizations and establishments. It is therefore not surprising that letters received by the editors of RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA contain comments and suggestions on further improving the postal services. UkSSR Minister of Communications H. Z. Sinchenko replies to the authors of these letters.

[Question] Heorhiy Zaharovych, the readers would like to know what changes have taken place recently in this republic's postal service?

[Answer] During the last five-year plan 90 buildings for municipal and rayon communications centers were constructed in the Ukraine, plus 10 mail sorting facilities; 920 post offices were opened, and 25 enterprises, 550 shops and sections were fully mechanized. Omega electronic cash registers were adopted for postal service cashier operations. Considerable work has been done to speed up the handling of letters, packages, newspapers and magazines. Municipal party and soviet agencies have increased assistance to us. The UkSSR Council of Ministers specifically addressed the question of improving postal and telephone service to the general public, as well as Soyuzpechat' services in this republic.

[Question] There are are still many complaints about the postal service, however. Since the beginning of the year RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA has received more than 300 complaints....

[Answer] Yes, there have been many complaints. The ministry and its subordinate enterprises in the localities are carefully analyzing critical comments. Deficiencies are due primarily to the fact that growth and development of our facilities are lagging behind the rapidly growing work volume. We regularly conduct branch and combined inspections of communications

enterprises. We are promptly following up on these inspections. For example, I. Ya. Shamorakov, chief of the Dnepropetrovskaya Oblast Communications Production-Technical Administration, was severely disciplined on the basis of inspection findings. The transportation people let us down fairly frequently. Scheduled plane departures are delayed for various reasons (bad weather, etc). Trains are late. Last year, for example, 1730 trains arrived late in Kiev and 2555 in Khar'kov. The attention of the USSR Ministry of Railways should be drawn to this....

[Question] But let us return to the work of your ministry.

[Answer] Communications enterprises are short of vehicles with bad-road capability and small load capacity. We are waiting for assistance in this matter from UkSSR Gosplan. In order to motorize rural mail delivery, we need the assistance of the UkSSR Ministry of Motor Transport and Local soviet executive committees. We are also asking UkSSR Gosstroy to consider the operating requirements of communications enterprises as regards installing tenant mailboxes in the entrances of apartment buildings as well as local mail distribution stations. I should also like to stress that UkSSR Gosplan and UkSSR Glavsnab are failing to meet our needs -- they are furnishing us with few paper bags, little wrapping paper, and other materials. And the UkSSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and the UkSSR Ministry of Industrial Construction are failing year after year to meet contract work targets for our ministry. One of the major regions for late delivery of newspapers and magazines is a shortage of employees, and particularly letter carriers. For example, due to an inadequate workforce in the periodical mailing shop of the Kiev Railroad Station Post Office and organizational deficiencies, on one occasion the departure of four planes was delayed, as a result of which almost 19,000 subscribers in Krymskaya, Odesskaya, Chernovitskaya, and Khersonskaya oblasts received the newspaper RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA a day late. Appropriate action was taken. The guilty parties were punished. The administration at the Kiev Railroad Station Post Office are now taking steps to hire an adequate workforce and to ensure prompt dispatch of newspapers.

[Question] Just what specifically is the Ministry of Communications doing to keep personnel at its enterprises and to boost the prestige of the job of letter carrier?

[Answer] This year a republic meeting was held at Vinnitsa, at which the best letter carriers exchanged work experience and know-how. Such get-togethers will also be held in the future. In addition, professional expertise competitions are held. But we realize that this is not enough to boost the prestige status of the profession. First and foremost we must concern ourselves with making things easier for our people. Much has been accomplished in this area. At the present time newspapers, magazines, and letters are delivered by vehicle in all cities and towns and in almost 7000 rural delivery sections -- the letter carriers merely distribute them among the tenants' mailboxes, located in building entranceways, and on the street. Several thousand letter carriers have been provided with their own vehicle, but this problem has not yet been fully resolved. Over the course of the last several years, in order to improving living and housing conditions for letter carriers,

the executive committees of local soviets have assigned them more than a thousand housing units. The children of all letter carriers have been provided enrollment in children's institutions. Dormitories for postal service employees have also been built in Voroshilovgrad, Kherson, Chernigov, and Cherkassy. We hope that these and other measures will help increase the number of persons wishing to serve as letter carriers. Incidentally, they presently number 66,000 in this republic.

[Question] Heorhiy Zaharovych, the readers also would like to know about the future growth prospects of the postal service.

[Answer] In the current five-year plan, plans call for construction of 8 new buildings to house postal centers and mail sorting facilities. Every year from 8 to 10 lightweight metal buildings will be erected for small postal exchange facilities adjacent to railroad stations. As we know, in order to improve the distribution and delivery of newspapers, the texts of central newspapers are now facsimile-transmitted to all decentralized newspaper printing plants. In the near future republic newspapers will also be facsimile-transmitted to decentralized printing locations. Newspaper dispatching schedules are also being reviewed. Since February, for example, mail is being sent from Kiev by Train No 101 to several newspaper distribution centers in Vinnitskaya Oblast, which has ensured regular dispatching of newspapers. Communications enterprises are adopting the brigade method of organization of labor and wages: when an employee fails to report for duty, the mail is still delivered on the day it arrives. Reader L. Zakharov from Kiev suggests enlisting volunteer helpers in delivering the mail. This is already being done by communications enterprises. In Kiev, for example, more than 1200 persons are working under such an agreement. These include housewives and college students. They deliver VECHIRNIY KYYIV to subscribers. And in Khar'kov similar volunteer letter carrier helpers deliver the mail on Saturdays and Sundays. We are devoting considerable attention to mechanization of mail handling and sorting by zip code. In the 11th Five-Year Plan such equipment will be installed in Kiev, Khar'kov, Zaporozh'ye, L'vov, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Simferopol', Khmel'nitskiy, Rovno, and Sumy. Parcel sorting equipment is already operating in Kiev and will be installed in Khar'kov, Simferopol', and other cities. There will be further development of containerized mail hauling, which will make it possible to speed the processing and hauling of heavy mail.

3024

CSO: 1811/59

## REGIONAL

### KOLKHOZ MANAGEMENT, NOT SOIL, IS PRIMARY NEED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Mikhail Yakovlevich Bredov, chairman of the Iskra Kolkhoz, Rodnikovskiy Rayon, Ivanovskaya Oblast: "Tracks on the Land: Style and Methods of Management"]

[Excerpts] Let us introduce the author. Hero of Socialist Labor, delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, Mikhail Yakovlevich Bredov--one of the oldest rural managers of Ivanovskaya Oblast. He has devoted his life to toiling on the land, which he knows thoroughly and loves with all his soul. It is precisely by the efforts of such persons that the transformation of the Non-Chernozem Lands is moving forward, and it is precisely on them that there lies a great burden in carrying out the country's Food Program.

Believe it or not, it was just like an electric current passing through me when I read in the oblast newspaper how one kolkhoz chairman put aside all busy matters, abandoned his people and equipment, and headed south--in order to see where he would buy straw during the autumn. And this at the present time, when herbage among us here is unprecedented, while grain is in short supply. And this person occupies the lofty position of feeder of the people....

I recognize that such instances are infrequent and that the necessary judgement has been passed on him in this oblast. But I have mentioned him because I perceive behind him a certain well-rooted psychology of some managers who, without thinking about the economic aspect of the matter, solve current management problems. Today--one, tomorrow--another. And so one, day after day. You look and see a person who has already become adjusted to living without perspective and to looking at the state purse as at a bottomless barrel.

The May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU CC demanded that an end be made to such unsuitable practices. Indeed, how many dependent people can be produced? And again how much can be collected from the state for their own mismanagement and inertness?

I would like to focus the attention of all our public opinion on the problem of advancing and training managers--primarily in the rural areas. To manage a farm, I know from experience, is not an easy matter. A person may have a diploma and quite good health, but matters do not go well. A higher education diploma still

does not make a specialist ready for a position as a kolkhoz chairman or a sovkhoz director. He needs certain specific gifts, and he needs time in order for life, so to speak, to roll on smoothly as it should. A manager must be trained patiently and thoughtfully, inculcating a feeling of lofty responsibility for the destiny of the land and the people who work on it.

At the May Plenum of the CPSU CC it was correctly stated that good results in the work of groups are achieved, as a rule, under stable management. Turnover of people inflicts great damage to the cause. Sometimes you simply marvel: a new manager just about has made his appearance on a farm, and you have just about begun to remember his name, when suddenly the bird has flown away. You ask, what was the reason? Was it some casual person who chanced upon this position? And if he wasn't casual, if he had some ability, why did he leave the job so soon?

During the last five-year plan our Ivanovskaya Oblast was criticized, among others, for its frequent turnover of rural specialists. Quite a few examples took place right here in our rayon, when managers on a farm were replaced twice and even three times during the five-year plan. Retirement on a pension, a question of health--that's a special matter. But here one person was asked to leave, another left on his own, while a third was also dismissed from his position.... Of course, we are not saying that negligent persons should be kept on in management artificially. But the party must also be concerned that negligent persons do not land in these positions in the first place, and that beginners, inexperienced persons, are rendered the necessary aid.

Carrying out the Food Program is a nationwide matter. Much, however, will depend on who and how the work of people on the land is directed--in the fields, in haying, and on the farm. On how a person makes it through as a manager.

In short, I am convinced of the following: it is not a matter of poor soil but of poor bosses. A rural manager should begin by mastering this primer.

The only way is to inculcate in every possible manner in the specialist and in the manager a sense of responsibility and independence, a capability for creative, decisive actions. For a sober appraisal of the situation. At our meetings with specialists I consider it mandatory for myself to listen thoroughly to the opinions of everybody, including the beginners. What kind of ideas, intentions, suggestions do they have? I give advice. But herein for a person to be helped he must realize that he himself, and nobody else, is primarily responsible for the matter entrusted to him.

At the plenums of the party obkom and at various conferences I have already stated that we cannot be satisfied with the present-day level of the VUZ training of agricultural specialists, our future replacements. Graduates are poorly instructed in organizational work; at times they do not know how to approach people. Their practical skills are weak. It turns out that they have little desire to devote themselves to work on the land--they must be assiduously prepared for this.

2384

CSO: 1800/962

## REGIONAL

### GEORGIAN DISSIDENT'S FATHER'S SENTENCE COMMUTED UNDER 'PRESSURE'

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 27 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Al. Aleksishvili: "You Don't Carve the Beam on Just One End. Or, Why Don't Those Who Championed the Criminal Believe This Folk Wisdom?"]

[Text] On the 28th of May a curious document turned up in the Letters to the Editor. The typewritten sheet, "Statement to the Press" (for that's what it was called), must have been the fourth or fifth carbon copy. For that reason, as well as the fact that the "statement" was written crudely and in illiterate style, we had a hard time making out its meaning, but we finally managed: "My father was wrongly arrested, and I protest the illegal action," was what Citizen Mariam Bagdavadze had written.

Naturally we were concerned; violation of the law is a serious matter. We inquired about the author of the statement, but no one seemed to recall how, in what circumstances, or by whom the paper (without envelope) was brought in. But the fact that the text was typed and the addressee written in by hand cleared it up for us: We were not the only ones being appealed to for help; this "Statement to the Press" had been delivered to other editorial offices as well. Bagdavadze must have been in considerable distress to call an absentee press conference, and so we looked directly into the case of the prosecution of Merab Germanovich Bagdavadze.

Here is the gist of the case:

Merab Bagdavadze was driving his car on a narrow street in the Mamporia neighborhood of the village of Muketi, Vani Rayon, when he suddenly came head on to another car driven by some citizen whom he did not know. There was no room to pass, but the inebriated Bagdavadze acted as if he owned the whole road...he just up and drove right into the oncoming Zhiguli. He and his Volga won the contest, pushing the Zhiguli backwards at least 10 to 15 meters, all the while showering the other man with filthy language....

The episode did not end there. Bagdavadze continued on his way to a cafe in the village of Shuamta, where he stole a meat knife, wrapped it in paper, and returned to the Mamporia neighborhood. The Zhiguli was still there, and the still astonished driver was hovering around the crunched-in front of his car. Bagdavadze yelled out, "Now you're gonna get it," and came at him with the knife.



Who knows what tragedy might have ensued had the insulted and offended victim not been nimble of foot and several residents of the neighborhood not shown up. They took the unbalanced Bagdavadze's knife away from him and tried to calm him down, and advised him to "beat it."

Coming to his senses, Bagdavadze did try to get away, but it was too late. The officers of the law apprehended him.

A trial was held in full accordance with the law, and after a preliminary investigation and on the basis of a thorough examination of the incident Merab Bagdavadze was sentenced to three years imprisonment for hooliganism.

So where is the violation of legality mentioned in the "Statement to the Press"?

We asked the same question in the Ministry of Justice.

Here is the answer we got:

"Malicious hooliganism and abusing the dignity of an individual are punished more severely under Soviet law. For the crime committed by Merab Bagdavadze the law stipulates from three to seven years imprisonment. Hence, he got the minimum."

But those who swallowed Bagdavadze's daughter's line, who didn't look thoroughly into the matter and thus lent their aid to father and daughter, didn't see it that way.

The "Statement to the Press"--completely false, as is now known--touched the hearts of several participants in the absentee press conference, including N. Dzhaparidze, a staffer on the journal TSISKARI, K. Korinteli, a section chief on LITERATURNAYA GRUZIYA, and others.

These "others" included personal acquaintances and friends of the Bagdavadzes, people on the lookout for random news items, lovers of spectacles and, unfortunately, even some respectable members of our society who, let us hope, made an honest mistake.

Thus, as time went on, the community's attention turned to unhealthy rumor-mongering and speculative sensationalism revolving around the case of Bagdavadze and his "benefactors."

The collective telegrams sent to higher authorities read approximately as follows:

"...Witnesses' testimony at the trial of Merab Bagdavadze proved that the charges against him were completely false, and the trial was conducted in an incompetent manner." "...We demand the immediate release of Bagdavadze, who was arrested without having committed any crime." And so forth.

Quite apart from friends and sensation-seekers, how is it that the cause of championing Bagdavadze and writing protest telegrams should have been taken up

by, for example, a group of staff members in the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, the sons and daughters of a number of professors and academicians, and the respected and highly regarded motion picture director Nana Mchedlidze?

Yet it did happen. Mariam Bagdavadze, who is herself on probation for her part in last year's brawl at Svetitskhoveli, was able to make it out that her father's hooliganism, with all its repercussions, was actually an assault on him, and gullible people believed her.

But on what grounds? Facts, as we know, are stubborn. Historians should hold facts sacred. We have right before us a man who has been insulted and abused. For a creative person, a wrong that goes unpunished should at least give cause for sleepless nights.

But the main thing is, the elder Bagdavadze is certainly not the kind of individual whose cause one ought to want to champion.

Consider the following:

Merab Bagdavadze is 50 years old. He has three children and a car registered in his father's name. He works as an assistant in the Main Scientific-Production Administration for the Protection and Utilization of Historical, Cultural, and Natural Monuments.

According to records, Merab Bagdavadze was divorced from his first wife in 1976 and married Valentina Petrovna Pustoselova of Tbilisi, who is seven years his senior. Merab and his youngest daughter registered in V. Pustoselova's private apartment on Kipshidze Street on the day of the wedding. Later on his two older children were also registered in that apartment (that's how our capital city grows).

Bagdavadze and his children have never lived in the apartment. They live with an aunt on the same street. As for V. Pustoselova's apartment, two more persons are registered there along with Merab Bagdavadze and his three children-- V. Pustoselova's two children from her first marriage, Viktor and Eduard Tonyan. V. Pustoselova's first husband, Karlo Tonyan, who has been in jail four times, now lives separately. According to V. Pustoselova, he was against registering the Bagdavadze children in her apartment and doesn't know how and by whom Bagdavadze's three children were registered in the apartment he owns, against his will and behind his back. Viktor and Eduard Tonyan themselves say that Pustoselova and Bagdavadze have never lived together in the apartment on Kipshidze Street. At present, Merab Bagdavadze has rented the apartment to some other people and is probably raking in the loot.

Here are excerpts from Merab Bagdavadze's marriage application:

Family status? Never married.

Any children? None.

How many times married? This is the first.

This application was filled out in 1976. At that time, as we have seen, Merab Bagdavadze did have a wife and three children in Vani, but he denied it all out of simple avarice: Since 1968 V. Pustoselova's apartment has been classified as being in a reconstruction zone. It appears, then, that all this falsehood has been designed to obtain an apartment in Tbilisi, in one of the city's central zones. Many people are, of course, bothered by the housing problem in Tbilisi, but that doesn't give anyone the right to resort to any and all tricks and deceptions just to get an apartment. Especially in the case of the Bagdavadzes, who have a fine house and land in Vani. The capital city will continue to grow, but it cannot tolerate people who abandon the village in this manner.

There's more. In 1970 M. Bagdavadze was convicted of carrying an illegal firearm. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, but in consideration of his family status the court commuted the sentence to probation....

There are many details of this sort in the affair, and we have submitted some of them to the reader's consideration only because they are the very things that go into the general make-up and character of a man, the details that yield a definite pattern by which to assess his personality.

Our conclusion? These are the real falsehoods, not those adduced so devotedly by the authors of the collective telegrams. For it is true devotion when one attempts to remove material evidence--the knife--from a case under investigation.

And for whose sake?

For the sake of an unworthy man whose actions (false passport, false marriage, false registration, a knife and a revolver) cannot be termed mere error, a mere slip.

Recently the Georgian SSR Supreme Court reviewed Merab Bagdavadze's appeal and commuted his sentence to probation (probably under the influence of his devoted champions).

When a man comes out of the bath it is customary to say to him, "May it do you good"; yet you can hardly wish a man well for hooliganism.

One cannot, on the other hand, wish him bad luck either, for the essence of Soviet law is humanism and mercy, as is reflected in the fact that the courts are by no means unheeding of a healthy public opinion. But exerting pressure on the law is itself illegal, and it must never be allowed to happen.

One-sidedness is harmful, for as the folk saying has it, "You don't carve the beam on just one end...." Evil and good must always be distinguished, whether justice is meted out in severity or in mercy.

## REGIONAL

### TAJIK COURTS COMBAT ALCOHOLISM AMONG RUSSIANS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 11 Jul 82 p4

[Article by Yu. Yur'yev: "A New Leaf: On Moral Themes"]

[Text] The aircraft crashed. A woman and a child survived. She regained consciousness on hearing the child's cries. She tried to move but a savage pain tore through her body. But the child kept crying. She put her arms around the child and, almost fainting, crept forward.

She was crawling very slowly. It would be nice to lie down and stop moving so as to avoid the pain. But awareness of the infant cuddled against her chest and now quieted, prompted her to move on.

The following day the woman was found not far from a shepherd's hut and brought to a medical aide. She asked if her baby was alive and, on hearing that it was, she expired. She could not have died earlier. She had to save her son.

I recalled that story when I read a transcript of court proceedings commencing with a declaration from a 14 years old boy. He wrote in a childish scrawl:

"To the captain of the children's room at the militia. In the Dushanbe railroad rayon. Please deprive my mother of parental rights, because she drinks all the time, does not attend to my education, buys nothing for me. She even does not know my shoe size...."

It was difficult for the boy to write these lines full of bitterness and accusation, this verdict on the person closest to him. But apparently his patience was at an end.

I am sitting in the room of the grandmother of Sergey--let us call him by that name. Anna Aleksandrova shows me the family album. It is like a book of life, some of whose pages deal with Sergey's mother, Inga Aleksandrovna, showing her as a little girl, then as a teenager, 10th grader. A soft oval girlish face. The pure and candid gaze of a person confident in the future. Naturally, a marriage was also included in the plans. True enough, as I saw it, this not unimportant event upset Inga's plans for the future: she did not graduate from the institute but followed her husband to Leningrad. Inga decided that she would let him support her instead of specializing in some occupation.

A year later a son was born. The little boy was ceremoniously registered at the Palace of the Newborn, and the happy parents carried the new denizen of Earth on a red carpet into the bright world.

The subconscious of children is often compared with a blank sheet of paper. What you "write" on it in early childhood will later manifest itself in goodness, bravery, or... neurosis that can adversely shape one's character. That is why it is sometimes useful to repeat the commonplace that everything begins in childhood. Parents who get married should always bear in mind the third party--the child and the duty of bringing it up into a human being.

In his brief life so far Sergey mostly witnessed at home scenes of drunken orgies, debauch, and abuse. All this was very distinctly "recorded" on his "blank sheet." Particularly imprinted in memory is the day when his father divorced his mother. Of course, he still did not understand everything at the time, but the irreparability of that event, the horror of it, affected him deeply. At that time they had been living in Khabarovsk. One wonders how would the boy have ended up had not a neighbor notified Anna Aleksandrovna in Dushanbe. She told her that Inga drank like a fish, her husband divorced her, and Sergey became homeless and was sleeping at the home of kind neighbors who were feeding him.

The grandmother immediately traveled to Khabarovsk and brought her daughter and grandson back with her. However hard Anna Aleksandrovna tried, Sergey's life did not become easier. The mother continued to drink, came home at night, and caused scandals. Faster and faster, she was hurtling toward the abyss, having completely forgotten her parental obligations.

Attempts were made to cure her at an addiction treatment center, and she was given a job in the hope that the collective and discipline would influence Inga Aleksandrovna. But nothing helped. A person can get well only if she wants to, and a person can work only if she is accustomed to it. Inga Aleksandrovna was not taught to work, and at age 39 she had an employment record of only a few months. She was accustomed to live for pleasure only.

Perhaps so much attention should not be devoted to that woman? But she is a mother, and her life has been producing a bad influence on her son. He became known, willy nilly, as "the son of a drunken woman." He was ashamed to go out and wept often. When the people's court sent his mother for compulsory treatment to an alcoholism treatment center [LTP], life became completely intolerable to Sergey.

The lack of a mother's love from childhood on and negative emotions did their work. His teachers wrote in their evaluation: "Sergey has become restless, depressed, nervous." This was neurosis, and how! Within the boy the remains of love for his mother were in divisive conflict with his hate of her.

On the day when the people's court of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon of Dushanbe, presided over by Sh. Azimov, reached the difficult verdict to deprive Inga Aleksandrovna of her parental rights, she calmly departed with one of her bosom pals in an unknown direction and since then has not returned home. The boy, who deep in his heart had hoped that the terrible punishment would influence his mother, disappeared without a trace....

Nearly simultaneously with this case the same court, presided over by the same judge, considered the suit brought by Vera Fedorovna L. for the restoration of her parental rights.

Let us "view" in retrospect what had happened more than a year ago. Here are a few lines from the judicial report of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Executive Committee: "The family L. has been deemed to be a bad family following an inspection by representatives of the children's room at the militia. Dima's mother regularly consumes **alcoholic** beverages and avoids working, and does not attend to the education of her son, born in 1974. Dima needs speech therapy, since his speech is bad and he is not even brought to a kindergarten...."

By that time Vera Fedorovna's husband had already divorced her and also sued to deprive her of her parental rights. A year ago the court resolved the suit in his favor.

On perusing the transcript of these proceedings I noticed that Vera F. again and again used the phrase: "I stopped drinking. Please do not deprive me of my parental rights." These few words sounded like a tragic refrain and I found them disturbing. Why did a young married woman with a child begin drinking? Could not her husband and those around her have stopped her?

The transcript noted that her husband is a moderate drinker. But what does it mean, "moderate"? Might not he have pushed his wife to drink? Might not that "moderation" be the reason for Dima's speech defect?

The transcript also included details that seemed at first glance to be insignificant but evoked no sympathy toward Dima's father. For example, upon divorcing his wife, he took almost all the furnishings with him, leaving her only a bed and a table. He kept the keys to the room and would sometimes visit Vera Fedorovna while in an inebriated state himself. When she was about to give birth to her second child, he, utilizing his formal right, disclaimed paternity. In a word, one did not sense in A. L. a real man, a kind and strong being....

To Vera Fedorovna the past year proved to be difficult and instructive. In her judicial plea for restoration of parental rights she writes: "I did a lot of rethinking and I rue what happened. I cannot live without my son...."

Of course, it is not so simple to get rid of a bad habit. But much has influenced Vera Fedorovna--the deprivation of her parental rights and the personnel of the republic clinical hospital where she started working. Over there, no one reminded her of her past. And even her neighbors encouraged Vera Fedorovna. They told her that if her behavior improves her parental rights would be restored to her.

The commission on minors considered her request very attentively. It verified all the facts and toured her work site, where it was told that Vera F. was considered a good worker, and it also visited her dwelling. All the responses were positive. Only after that did the commission support Vera Fedorovna's suit.

The people's court of Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon has, on carefully perusing the transcript of the proceedings and the testimonies of the parties and witnesses, reached the verdict that the suit is to be approved, since the restoration of parental rights to Vera Fedorovna is in the interest of the child.

...Two women. Born in nearly the same year. Both mothers. They found themselves in essentially the same situation, from which there are two ways out: the easier way of continuing to fall effortlessly into the abyss, living from day to day, and the much more difficult other way. Taking that other way requires drastically changing one's character and life. Not everyone can succeed in doing it.

Vera Fedorovna had the strength and courage to part with her past. In her, victory was won by the feeling of motherhood, the feeling of duty toward one's children and toward society for which she is obligated to bring up honest and worthy citizens.

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CSO: 1800/918



## REGIONAL

### BRIEFS

VIOLATORS DETAINED--Red Banner Transcaucasus border district--The border post personnel raised the alarm at midday. It took only a few minutes for the border guards to get to the scene. But imagine their surprise when they saw the two violators bound, as they say, hand and foot. Kh. Khachatryan, R. Arutyunyan and Yu. Chuguryan, young men from a border village, were standing by them. The lads had been on their way home when they saw two people run away from the border and hide in some bushes. As inhabitants of a border village they knew what was up. They concealed themselves near the path which the strangers were bound to take, and when the latter came by they leaped on them. When asked who they were and where they were bound the strangers could not answer. The lads quickly tied them up. It was then that the border guards appeared. [Text] [PM060949 Moscow Izvestiya in Russian 29 Jul 82 morning edition p 3]

CSO: 1800/1089

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